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PULLING NO PUNCHES AND DEFYING THE wrath both of the dictators and of their conscious and unconscious tools in this country, the President has voiced the determination of the American people to assist to the utmost the efforts of Britain and its Allies to overthrow Hitlerism, With unanswerable logic he proved that this course was necessitated by vital national interests, and he showed how impossible it would be for America to remain at peace in a Nazi-controlled world except by the sacrifice of everything for which it stands. It will be interesting to see how the dictator powers reply to this challenge. We do not expect them to break off relations, for they will not wish to deprive themselves of the advantages derived from their horde of diplomatic agents in this country. More probable is an attempt to minimize the importance of the speech, accompanied by a mixture of threats and protestations that the Axis cherishes no designs against the Americas. To the British the President has brought a message of hope at a moment when his plea for greater speed and effort was being underlined by a devastating raid on London. We must now see that deeds do not lag behind words.

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GERMAN TROOP MOVEMENTS INTO RUMANIA are being so well advertised that it is reasonable to suspect an attempt to cover up plans for a blow in a totally different direction. Heightened vigilance along the British coasts and intensified attacks by the RAF on the invasion ports suggest a belief in London that a new attempt to cross the Channel may be imminent. If this is not the danger point, then an expedition through Spain and the seizure of Portugal may be in the wind. Nevertheless, even though the numbers involved are being exaggerated, it is certain that considerable reinforcements have been added to the German army of occupation in Rumania. One of their tasks is to strengthen the Nazi grip on that country, which has been "softened" by Iron Guard anarchy and is now ready for a greater degree of "protection." But reports of concentrations on the Russian, Yugoslav, and Bulgarian borders suggest additional objectives. These military gestures are no doubt intended to buttress diplomatic pressure on Yugoslavia and Bulgaria and to prepare the way for later demands for a right of passage. Berlin has certainly noted with displeasure the increase of Russian influence in Sofia. Moreover, the Bulgarian Assembly has now formally declared against adhesion to the Tripartite Pact, and the Premier and War Minister have pointedly denied the necessity for "outside protection." German moves near the Russian border have renewed speculation about a possible Nazi invasion of the Ukraine. Nothing seems more unlikely to us, but Hitler may well think it worth a few divisions to keep Moscow worried, and he may also believe that a latent threat to Russia's western frontier will assist negotiations for a Russo-Japanese agreement.

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WINSTON CHURCHILL'S APPEAL TO ITALY was well timed, coming as it did immediately after Graziani's dispatch describing the parlous position of his army. The publication of this exceedingly frank document was no doubt an attempt to offset rumors about the extent of the disaster suffered in Africa. It attempted to reassure Italians and at the same time to give a plausible explanation for an undeniable defeat. Reading between the lines we find a devastating criticism of the Rome government, which ordered the advance into Egypt without being able to provide adequate supplies or insure safe communications. Churchill's speech sought to capitalize on the uneasiness of the Italian people, who never wanted war, who cannot fail to know that Mussolini's bombast is being pitilessly exposed, and who regard their Nazi partners with fear and suspicion. News of the British Premier's appeal is spreading. It cannot be altogether suppressed, and that is why the Italian government has made public a carefully edited version which significantly omits the passages blaming Mussolini alone for taking Italy into war and the text of the remarkable last-minute message which Churchill sent in May, hoping to prevent a severance of relations. But such suppressions cannot render less acute the dilemma which Churchill brought into sharp relief: Is Italy to "stand up to the battery of the whole British Empire . . . or, on the other hand, call in Attila over the Brenner Pass . . , to hold down and protect the Italian people"? The "protectors" are already seeping in, but so far only in small numbers. The dispatch of stronger forces is impeded by the difficulty of transporting troops by road through the Alpine passes under winter conditions. Movement by rail is easier, but it requires sixty-four trains to carry a division of German troops with equipment. Thus, apart from political considerations, there are physical obstacles to Nazi reinforcement of Italy.

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THE LONG-AWAITED JAPANESE DRIVE TO THE south appears to be taking shape. But instead of a swift sortic against the Dutch East Indies or Burma, as anticipated several months ago, it seems likely to be a cautious advance dependent upon diplomatic rather than

military measures. Added pressure has been brought against the French authorities of Indo-China for naval and air bases which would be useful for an attack on the Malay States, Burma, or the Philippines. Plans are also being pushed for the establishment of Japanese air bases in Thailand. The sporadic border skirmishes between Thailand and Indo-China seem to have been instigated by the Japanese in order to provide a pretext for intervention should such a step prove desirable. Meanwhile, as a means of consolidating its position in the southern part of China, the Japanese have launched a drive into north Kwangtung which for the moment appears to be successful. This is the first important offensive action undertaken by the Japanese in China in the past six months, and has as its avowed purpose the cutting of Chinese supply lines through the small South China ports still in Chinese hands. The extent of Chinese resistance to this drive will, along with the outcome of present Japanese negotiations with the Soviet Union, probably determine the speed with which the new program of Japanese expansion to the south unfolds in the early weeks of 1941.



THE REUTHER PLAN FOR MOBILIZING THE excess capacity of the automobile industry for the mass production of pursuit planes, first news of which was published in The Nation on December 21, is being given serious consideration by the New Supreme Defense Board. We hope the board and its technical advisers will be able to examine it in a really objective manner and will not allow it to be thrust aside because of fears that it might temporarily have adverse effects on the profits of the aircraft and automobile industries. Mr. Reuther's proposal is not just a hastily conceived brainwave but a carefully worked-out scheme embodying a great deal of research. It shows conclusively that the automobile industry, even when operating at a comparatively high rate, as it has done in the past twelve months, is capable of a huge expansion in output. It has modern machine tools available which could be adapted to aircraft manufacture in a shorter time than the building of new tools for new factories would require. And it has thousands of highly skilled tool-and-die makers, partly or wholly idle, who could be put to work. Aircraft specialists, however, have already raised the cry that the plan is technically unsound even though the Reuther memorandum answers many of their objections in advance. We have yet to hear from the chiefs of the automobile industry. We hope they will not cold-shoulder the plan because its success would enhance the prestige and authority of the Automobile Workers' Union. It is a real token of the anxiety of responsible labor organizations to cooperate in making the defense program fully effective, and as such it must not be lightly dismissed.

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DESPITE PUBLISHED REPORTS TO THE CONtrary, the new Ford contract for \$1,400,000 in midget military cars has not yet been signed, and from all that can be learned in the War Department Ford has not yet met the specifications of the contract. Thus the President still has an "out" through which he can prevent the award of another contract to our foremost Wagner Act violator. The Nation was the first to reveal, in its issue of December 14, the curious background of this new contract, the fact that other sources of supply were available, and that the Defense Commission had gone out of its way to favor Ford. As a result of the protests which followed, the Adjutant General on December 17 issued an order stating that all future War Department contracts were to be let with the understanding that a condition of the contract was compliance with all federal labor laws. It is understood in the War Department that a provision to this effect is to go into all future contracts, but Ford representatives have been boasting in Washington that Ford will not sign the new contract if it contains such a provision. Another special privilege being asked for Ford is that the army change the specifications for the midget military car to make it easier for the Ford Company to meet them.

J. EDGAR HOOVER SEEMS TO BE TRYING TO act as attorney general as well as director of the FBI. His statement at Miami Beach on the Bridges case seems calculated to embarrass Mr. Jackson and force him to act as Hoover desires. The Hoover report on Bridges was submitted to the Attorney General on November 28; nothing has been done about it because—despite Hoover's claims—it contained little evidence that had not already been found untrustworthy or perjured by James M. Landis in his special hearing on the Bridges case for the Department of Justice. An open hearing on the FBI report is likely to embarrass Mr. Jackson, but Mr. Hoover seems intent on forcing his superior's hand. The hounding of Bridges is in sharp contrast to the failure of both the FBI and the Dies committee to make a thorough investigation into Bridges's documented charges of Nazi "plants" in West Coast aviation factories. They are interested not in protecting defense against sabotage and spies but in doing the bidding of the powerful California shipping and banking interests which want Bridges deported because he organized labor on the waterfront and helped organize it in the agricultural valleys. Mr. Hoover also called attention again to his mysterious card index of "subversives." He has already shown that he can't tell a red from an anthropologist, and his index is a great potential menace to liberty in war time.

Tasks Before Congress

TO CONGRESS since the close of the last war has been confronted with issues of such gravity and complexity as those facing the session of the Seventyseventh Congress which opens this week. The Congress which just ended set a record for defense appropriations in peace time. The new Congress has the much more fundamental task of deciding how the defense equipment now being created can most effectively be used and how it can be paid for.

Foremost among the issues before Congress is, of course, our policy with respect to the war and aid for Britain. The President's radio address has set the keynote, but it remains for Congress to make the basic decisions. It is evident that the Neutrality Act will have to be either revised drastically or repealed. Of the two alternatives repeal seems the most honest and the safest, since it would restore the traditional basis of international law as a guide for American foreign policy. Repeal of the Johnson Act may not be necessary to carry out the President's plan of lending arms to the British, but it is a bad law, and its existence only serves as an inducement to subterfuge or lack of realism in facing the immediate problems of foreign policy. It should be repealed.

With regard to the Far East no immediate legislation is essential. The President already has it within his power to cut off all trade with Japan, including both imports and exports. But the apparent unwillingness of the Administration to take the action desired by an overwhelming majority of the population may again deposit

this problem on the doorstep of Congress.

On the domestic front the main task of Congress is to formulate a program for financing the extraordinarily heavy defense obligations assumed during the past year. There was no time to work out such a program during the hectic days of last summer. Defense plans had to be laid, and money appropriated to start the process in operation. But the means that are adopted to finance defense will determine, to a large extent, the future of our democracy. If the defense program is to be financed primarily by loans we shall not only experience inflation, with its intolerable burden on manual and professional workers, but a situation in which the well-to-do, who lend money to the government, will have a mortgage on the nation's revenues for many years to come. If, on the other hand, defense financing is placed on a pay-asyou-go basis, it is of utmost importance that the new taxes be progressive rather than regressive in character. The broad outlines of a program were set late in November at a White House conference attended by Treasury officials and Congressional leaders. They are said to include a sharp increase in income-tax rates, a strengthening of the gift-tax provisions, and removal of

tax exemption on future government bond issues. Although this may be said to represent a start toward a realistic and progressive tax policy, it is evident that the Administration has not yet faced the full social and economic implications of large-scale borrowing for defense.

On matters of defense itself Congress's responsibility should be less heavy than during the last six months. A deficiency appropriation of about \$1,000,000,000 will come up for immediate action. Revision of the Selective Service Act is being discussed in some quarters, but no drastic change in the law is anticipated at this session of Congress. Conservatives have served notice that they will seek revision of the Walsh-Healey, Fair Labor Standards, and Labor Relations acts under the guise of strengthening defense. This drive may take on serious proportions, but it obviously has little to do with defense. On the other side of the tracks, labor will ask that Congress adopt legislation making it illegal to give defense contracts to firms violating existing labor laws.

The development of the defense program has created the necessity for emergency legislation in such fields as housing, public health, and social security. The housing situation is admittedly critical. Skilled workers are being kept out of vital armament industries by the shortage of dwellings. Prompt action is also essential to deal with critical health problems that have arisen in connection with the building of new army cantonments and in the overcrowded areas surrounding the new defense industries. This would seem to be the time to enlarge the activities of the United States Public Health Service as proposed by the National Health Conference two years ago. The Social Security Act needs overhauling to protect drafted men against loss of status with regard to unemployment and old-age benefits. Two years have passed since the last revision of this act, and it is high time that its fundamental benefits be extended to the groups now excluded.

Still Partners with Japan

Systems—and the increased aid given to China—the United States continues to be Japan's chief source of war supplies. A report on our trade with Japan and China prepared by the Department of Commerce shows a sharp increase in exports during October as compared with September and notes that this increase—from \$17,778,000 to \$26,195,000—was due "primarily to increased shipments of gasoline (other than aviation gasoline), refined and scrap copper, and metal-working machinery." It represented in other words, increased exports of basic war materials, and in at least one of these—metal-working machinery—we already have a serious shortage.

Machine tools represent one of the most serious bottle-

necks in the defense program, but we go on shipping them to Japan. In 1937 we sold Japan \$11,904,000 worth. In 1938 the amount rose to \$23,000,000, and in 1939 to \$26,000,000. For the first nine months of this year the figure was \$19,756,000, or \$132,000 more than for the first nine months of 1939. Although there is now supposed to be a virtual embargo on machine tools, sales of power-driven metal-working machinery totaled \$1,410,000 in October as compared with \$676,000 in September. Another defense bottleneck is in the supply of aluminum, and although shipments to Japan have fallen, we sold it 1,109,000 pounds in the first ten months of this year.

Our embargoes on aviation gas and scrap iron have easily been circumvented by increased Japanese purchases of ordinary gasoline and other petroleum products and of iron and steel in other forms. Japan's purchases of petroleum products during the first ten months of this year totaled almost \$38,000,000, or \$2,000,000 more than in the first ten months of 1939. In iron and steel, it got 148 tons of scrap in October as in September, but paid \$2,643,000 for it in October as against \$2,521,-000 in September. This was only half as much scrap as the Japanese took from us in October a year ago, but they made up for the decrease by enormous increases in their purchases of certain types of steel. Their imports of iron and steel bars and rods rose from 47,000,000 pounds in the first ten months of last year to 227,000,000 pounds in the first ten months of this year. They took 5,614,000 pounds of iron and steel plates in the same period this year, as against 1,478,000 pounds last year. Exports to Japan of black steel sheets for the ten months rose from 75,000 pounds to 1,101,000 pounds. The rise in strips, hoops, and bands was from 10,000 pounds to 37,923,000 pounds. In tinplate the increase was from 359,000 pounds to 20,568,000 pounds. Japan's purchases of iron and steel forgings doubled. Yet we are having difficulty in filling defense orders for steel promptly, and an actual shortage of capacity is a possibility in the near future. Similar sharp increases are shown in Japanese purchases of copper, another basic war material.

We are spending billions to prepare ourselves for war. One of our possible enemies in that war is Japan, which has already bound itself to intervene in the Pacific if we become engaged in the Atlantic. The more war materials we sell to Japan, the higher their cost and the greater their scarcity at home, and the greater our need for them against a Japan we have ourselves strengthened. There are profits to be made in this process, coming and going—for our copper, steel, and oil barons. These gentlemen have entirely too "international" an outlook to suit us. How much longer is our government going to confront Japanese aggression with strong words—while winking at the profitable back-door business of supplying the weapons of that aggression?

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Suez to Spain

IN ORDER to estimate the probable consequences of the Italian defeats in the North African and Mediterranean campaigns it is necessary to examine Italy's place in the grand strategy of the Axis and the reasons for its entry into active warfare against Britain. Undoubtedly the Italian dictator had imagined not only that Britain was likely to withdraw from the war but that this would throw the French empire in Africa into the market. Failing to obtain territories from Hitler under the armistice, he launched the Egyptian campaign in September, while Britain was still weak, without due consideration of the difficulties or even of the true nature of the war as it would be. By entering a struggle between a land and a sea power he drew upon himself the main weight of battle at the precise point, and the only point, where British sea power and land power could effectively support each other.

So much General Graziani rather bluntly hints in his recent report to Mussolini when he draws attention to the unsolved problem of supply, which in great measure halted his offensive. The difficulties arose from inability to safeguard communications between Italy and Libya. But having chosen to attack, without naval superiority, in an area in which Britain was bound to make a powerful counter-effort, Mussolini found himself left with no way of escape.

If Alexandria had been occupied and the British navy had lost its principal base, the Suez region—and this includes Egypt and the Sudan-would have fallen under Axis control. What this would have meant can be appreciated if it is recalled that the British colonization of the East African coast and hinterland proceeded apace after the construction of the Suez Canal. The Italian East African army would have become a vitalized force able to extend its operations to Kenya and Tanganyika and other regions. Even though the Axis powers do not, at present, possess administrative means for drawing the richest profit from Africa, the consequences for Europe would have been enormous. The rearrangement of trade routes, the opening up of new areas of economic support in Africa, combined with those of western Asia, where valuable supplies of oil are to be obtained, would necessarily have poured content into the New Order. The relief of distress and the means of purchasing additional support from Spain and the Balkan countries would have been within Hitler's power.

The sum total of the Italian effort has been both to weaken the right-wing Axis advance to the Suez (through the Balkans) and to shatter the left (in Egypt). For though the British were compelled to weaken their prepared offensive at Sidi Barrani in order to help their Greek allies, the Greek successes in themselves were of

great help in the grand strategical sense. The possession of Crete, neutralizing the Dodecanese bases to some extent, seals Britain's grip on the Mediterranean.

It is worth while glancing at the tactical facts of the North African battle. Despite Graziani's denial, his forces were surprised not only by the timing of the blow but by the quantity and quality of the mechanized equipment at General Wavell's disposal. The shortcomings of the Italian effort to adapt the system of defense in depth to open desert country were quickly revealed. Once the mechanized British spearhead had been thrust between the numerous but isolated strong points, the advance to Bardia resembled the unstringing of a chain of beads, each fort falling inevitably to an identical maneuver.

Again one sees that a total numerical superiority in a strategical area is useless if local superiority cannot be established. The British, in the sum inferior, were able to concentrate a greater number of troops at each isolated fort. There is nothing to indicate that this cannot be done as far as Tobruk and even Derna. The Italian high command, unless it risks battle against the British navy, will run great risks in strongly garrisoning those points, for, in the event of their fall, far too few troops would be left at the admittedly formidable base at Tripoli. The unstringing of the chain can therefore probably continue. By now the British command has taken measure of the qualitative inferiority of Italian material. This can hardly be rectified by Hitler, except in the air, for large convoys have little hope of reaching Libya. Even air support must be limited by the inadequate supplies on Libyan soil. It will be long before General Graziani can organize a counter-thrust, for the loss of 40,000 men, not including the 20,000 in Bardia, will have disorganized his entire army.

A power holding North Africa and possessing, at the same time, a secure foothold in the Balkan Peninsula can threaten southern Italy with a pincer movement. Thus if Greece can complete its triumph in Albania, and Britain obtain a firm hold on Libya, Mussolini will be menaced on his own soil. A good deal of ground must be covered before these conditions are fulfilled, but the threat has been made by Mr. Churchill; the plan, therefore, probably exists. Meanwhile the Italian high command is undoubtedly expecting a German counter-blow which will do something to reestablish the strategical balance. Where is this most likely to fall? In the Balkans? Perhaps, but the removal of the Italian threat to Egypt doubles the difficulties and dangers of a great flanking movement through Turkey and Syria. In Spain? Hitler may now force Franco to pay his political debt, but the Italian defeat will surely encourage Franco to try to stall a little longer. It would not be surprising, therefore, if the Axis, thwarted at the periphery of the empire, should swing back to the center and renew its efforts to stage a successful invasion of Britain.

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Order of the Year

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE President's magnificent defiance of the dictators should serve as an intellectual catharsis for the nation. He expressed our inner feelings and resolved our doubts and told us plainly what we face. It was as if everything we had sensed darkly, even unconsciously, had suddenly emerged into the light of objective certainty. Now we feel, with a sort of self-satisfaction, that we knew it all the time. Perhaps we did. Because what we've got to do is, of course, very simple—not simple to do but simple to recognize. We've got to merge ourselves—as people, as institutions, as a nation—in the defense of freedom. We've got to prevent a fascist victory.

Of course we must also win a democratic victory; but that will come later. At present Hitler has the initiative; at present he is ahead. The job today is to keep the war going long enough to prevent him from winning. Then we can begin to talk about defeating him. The effort to prevent Hitler from winning is likely to take all our strength—and all of 1941—to accomplish.

So far we have scarcely tackled it, although the President spoke encouraging words about our industrial progress. We have sent Britain a few airplanes-1,500 or so -and other supplies. And we have started to create a defense of our own. But we have only begun to sense what lies ahead if Hitler is to be stopped. We still think, for example, that we can go on turning out as many automobiles for you and me as we did before the war and still build enough planes and tanks and other war machines for Britain, and Greece, and China, and our own defense program. Some of our biggest industrialists believe that. It is nonsense, and Mr. Roosevelt said as much. If we have all that capacity for producing automotive machines, we'd better double or treble the quantity put out for the purpose of fighting Hitler. It won't be too much or be ready too soon.

The fall of France taught Britain the meaning of totalitarian war. Up to that moment the English people coasted along about as we are doing today. They hoped for the best and, inexorably meeting the worst, kept stumbling over themselves in belated attempts to catch up. They didn't ever catch up. Denmark was occupied and Norway fell. And they were still arguing about why they had neither anticipated nor adequately countered the attack on Norway when the invasion of Holland began, and total catastrophe followed a few weeks of nightmare horror. Only then did Britain begin on all fronts to move into action. Only then did planning take the place of haphazard methods of production and procurement. Only then did Britain's effort to draw upon the vast potential-but wholly uncoordinated-resources of the United States become vigorous and partly effective.

Today our own failure to foresee and prepare constitutes Britain's greatest danger.

Are we going to continue to repeat the errors of the British? Are we going to pretend that we are free to choose whether we want convertible coupés or tanks, bathroom fixtures or turbines? Are we going to wait until England has gone down in disaster and then jerk into desperate action—with the whole burden of resisting Hitler left in our unready hands?

If the menacing nonsense talked by Senator Wheeler and the No Foreign War Committee and the America First Committee and the American Student Union were taken seriously by the Congress or the people, we should stand an excellent chance of doing just that. These people have adopted a trick which is of utmost value to Hitler. They try to center all discussion on the danger of our going into the war as a belligerent. By this tactic, relentlessly pursued, they drive even intelligent men—like William Allen White, who understands perfectly the need of multiplying and speeding and broadening our aid to England—into earnest denials that they want war. This shifts the argument and forfeits the ball to the isolationists—and to Hitler.

Most determined anti-fascists are also anti-interventionists, as the President himself is. They know that we are totally unprepared to wage active warfare against a distant enemy on land or sea or in the air. They fear that if we were to declare war, the psychological pressure to play a belligerent role would deflect our energies into strategically unwise activities. They think we can best accomplish the essential job of equipping ourselves and pouring arms into Britain if we remain technically at peace.

But most of these same people admit that in certain circumstances we may have to declare war. It may be necessary to send air and naval units to England to prevent British defeat. It is more likely that we shall have to convoy supply ships across the Atlantic, running the risk of Nazi attack. It is also possible that we shall never fully wake up to the necessity of a planned and intensified production of war supplies until we become a partner-de jure as well as de facto-in the struggle against fascism. And it is evident that the legal obstacles to full material aid may be hard to wipe out as long as we cling to our neutrality. But at the moment the odds favor non-belligerent support of Britain, and as Mr. Roosevelt insisted, the more generous and swift the support, the better the chance that it will continue to be non-belligerent. In any case the emphasis ought to be kept where it belongs. We cannot afford to let appeasers and isolationists, or Hitler himself, switch the discussion to the danger of possible American participation in the war. That isn't the point. The point is the defense of freedom. That, in sum, is what the President said, and on that point a majority of the American people are with him.

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Brains for Defense

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 27

THE papers are full of stories about the shortage of aluminum. One aircraft plant has had to curtail its activity because of the shortage, and the curtailment has disclosed a situation that has become typical in the defense program. Familiar elements fall into a familiar pattern: a monopoly that has no interest in making aluminum plentiful; Defense Commission assurances that make pleasant headlines but prove to be disingenuous. Mr. Stettinius said we had enough ingot capacity in aluminum for the present and the near future. He failed to mention the shortage in finishing capacity. This is the bottleneck that is holding up work at the Northrop Aircraft Corporation and will soon hold up work at others. On this I propose to hang a story that came to me a few weeks ago. Last week from Washington and the week before from Detroit I wrote of idle machinery and idle man-power. This is about idle brains.

One way to end the bottleneck in aluminum, which is likely to become more serious, and at the same time to speed production of planes would be to develop a new, light stainless-steel alloy to replace the duraluminum now used so largely in planes. The advantage of duraluminum, a compound of aluminum and duralium, is its lightness. One disadvantage is the relative scarcity of aluminum. Another is the greater scarcity of duraluminum. A third lies in the character of duraluminum, which is not an easy alloy to handle. Stainless steel is much more malleable, and discovery of a stainless-steel alloy of sufficient lightness would make it easier to adapt existing stamping machinery to the job of fashioning plane parts. It would also make it easier to adapt existing skills to the new task.

The way to find that stainless-steel alloy would be to bring together every scrap of information bearing on the problem. No doubt a number of men in different plants are working on it. Other men in other laboratories in the course of other work have no doubt stumbled on facts which could contribute to the solution of this metallurgical puzzle. But we have no effective way to gather and correlate information buried in the files of scattered academic and industrial laboratories. Nor have we any effective way to break the problem down into its constituent elements and parcel these out among scientists with special backgrounds for these special problems. The world of science is a world full of duplicated effort and unused skills. Scientists learn what other scientists are doing from scientific publications, but these print only

a small part of the news on work accomplished and little on news in progress, and what they do print sees the light' only after a long and tedious delay.

Last August the most courageous man in the President's Cabinet submitted a memorandum on this problem. It has never been published and I am not at liberty to publish it now, but it suggests the appointment of an office of scientific liaison. This office would establish a card-index system covering every scientist and every scientific laboratory in the country. The Civil Service Commission and the National Resources Planning Board are now taking a census of scientists, the Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel, but the card-index system proposed would go beyond that census. It would be a clearing house providing not merely general information on scientists and their specialties but concrete information about the problem on which each is working. It would seek to tap the huge files of unpublished papers in every college laboratory and industrial laboratory in the country, and to keep up to date on all work in progress. The idea is that when any problem comes up in connection w'h defense the office will be able immediately to correlate all the information available and to bring to bear the special experience of experts. The Germans, I am told, obtain continuous reports on work in progress from their scientific societies, and these societies aim to be and are all-inclusive rather than exclusive, as are so many of our own.

We have a National Academy of Sciences, established by Congress in 1863, a year after the battle of the Monitor and the Merrimac showed the military importance which could attach to a single technical advance. But the academy today is an honorary institution, and asking it to act on some minute but important technological problem is like asking the French Academy to prepare a snappy press release. I have before me a copy of its latest publication, Volume XXIII, Third Memoir. It is a monumental study called "Observations for Measurements of the Members of the National Academy of Sciences," and it contains such vital information as this, "Mustache, beard, hair of the body.—A proper study of the mustache and especially that of the beard was impossible, for more than one-half of the members of the academy wore no mustache and but a few wore a full beard." We have a National Research Council, established by the academy at President Wilson's request in 1916. It did good work in the last war and has some good men on it, but it has just been coming out of a long hibernation.

We have a National Defense Research Committee in the Defense Commission, and Charles F. Kettering, who is the outstanding genius of the automotive industry, heads a new National Inventors' Council in the Department of Commerce. But so far these bodies have produced little more than publicity. There are 100,000 people engaged in scientific work in this country. The memorandum to which I have referred estimates that only some 500 are in contact with these governmental scientific bodies.

The Administration memorandum originated in an idea that Dr. Lyman Chalkley was trying to put over in Washington all last year. Dr. Chalkley, now a lecturer on marketing at New York University, has a long background of experience as research chemist for Standard Oil of Indiana, industrial fellow of Bakelite Corporation, and assistant professor of industrial research at Penn State. For a time he had an office of his own in New York as an adviser in research planning for industrial corporations. Dr. Chalkley thinks we ought not only to know what all our scientists are doing but to help plan

and support their work. Most universities today lack funds for research and must depend on special grants, Judging from a recent statement by Frank Jewett, president of the academy and head of the Bell Telephone Laboratories, the government does not seem to be spending through the academy more than two or three hundred thousand dollars on special defense research, or about what one big soap company has been spending in trying to develop an "antiseptic" soap with which to play on the hypochondriac susceptibilities of the American consumer. England, too, had its honorary societies, its scientific stuffed shirts and yes men. If any reader is interested in learning how they fumbled the job of mobilizing Britain's scientific brains for defense, I recommend a little volume published by the Penguin Press in England a few months ago, "Science in War," a symposium by twenty-five anonymous scientists. It isn't on sale in this country, but it ought to be, for it indicates that the British made the same mistakes that we are making. I hope we shan't wait as long as they did to correct them.

The Choice for the Americas

BY LEWIS COREY

I. Imperialism or Cooperation

S GERMANY multiplies its activities in Latin America and the "New Europe" begins to take shape, the need for hemisphere defense becomes increasingly clear. At the same time it becomes clear that this defense cannot be limited to military alliances and naval and air bases. Hitler wages social and economic as well as military war, and there is always the danger that economic pressures in Latin America may break open the floodgates of fascism. The basis of hemisphere defense must be economic cooperation. All this was recognized at the Havana conference. Although its economic decisions have been criticized as "disappointingly vague" they formulated the right problems and moved in the right directions: orderly action on surpluses, more industrialization and diversified production in Latin America, greater inter-American trade and consumption, increased economic self-sufficiency for the Americas. Bureaus have been set up in Washington and some steps taken to implement the conference's decisions; at the same time Latin Americans, aware that it is a two-way proposition, have swung into action to improve their economic rela-

Yet economic cooperation lags. The ideas and the plans are there, but as the hard-headed enthusiasts in the bureaus will tell you, there is "not enough action," and correspondents report that Latin America is still waiting to see how the United States implements the Havana decisions. Among the makers of policy there is a tendency to see cooperation too much in defense terms, although final success depends on the economic program. A master plan and swifter action are needed. For a revolution is going on in Europe that will permit neither piddling action nor a return to the old ways, no matter who wins. It is still in the balance whether hemisphere cooperation will be a magnificent achievement or a dismal flop.

Cooperation is endangered by open or concealed opposition in the United States and Latin America. All the Republican members of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee voted against the bill to grant \$500,000,000 to the Export-Import Bank to implement the Havana decisions; they said it was "futile, wasteful, unwise." Monopoly corporations with imperialist interests in Latin America either oppose cooperation or try to distort it to promote their own ends. Big business fears the increasing government economic activity without which fruitful cooperation is impossible. Appeasers do not want a policy that may disturb their dream world, where "we must learn to live with Hitler." In Latin America, too, there is opposition-most of it mistaken, some of it malicious. And everywhere, in all the Americas, Nazis and Communists, in their drive to make the world safe for totaliJanua tarian of Ya The

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tarianism, denounce hemisphere cooperation as "the mask of Yankee imperialism."

There are even some men of good-will who fear that cooperation may mean Yankee imperialism. Theirs is an honest fear, which totalitarian elements can exploit. Much has been done to allay it by the Good Neighbor policy, whose most recent expression was the withdrawal of the United States from control of the Dominican customs; more must and will be done. Many Latin American liberals, including some Socialists who forget what the Nazis do to socialism and unionism, neglect the Hitler agents working under their noses and cry, "No danger of Nazi invasion; Yankee imperialism is the danger." As I listen to the liberals and radicals in this country who cry "imperialism" I feel that in their view any Latin American policy of the United States must be imperialist. Yet if this were so, the United States should have gobbled up Latin America long ago; it should have sent troops into Mexico when Cárdenas expropriated the oil companies. That was not done. Why? Because there are alternatives to imperialism. Our economic relations with Latin America may become imperialist. But they can be democratic.

The significance of one fact should be considered—the fact that imperialists show no enthusiasm for the democratic economic cooperation that is now being shaped. Imperialists dislike the policy because it is the opposite of imperialism; appeasers and fascists dislike it because it means a struggle for democracy. An all-American program of democratic economic cooperation is part of the social war that democracy must wage against the totalitarian challenge.

The alternatives for Latin America are Nazi imperialist domination or cooperation with the United States. Latin America cannot go it alone. That is the Nazis' trump card when they urge "cooperation" with Germany and the "New World Order." Disunited, without the United States, it would be impossible for the twenty Latin American republics to resist the economic domination of a Nazi Europe. Not even the problem of surpluses would be solved. A Nazi Europe would strive to become more self-sufficient economically; a master industrial Germany would force a de-industrialized France and other vassal states to produce foodstuffs and would develop Africa as a source of the tropical products that Latin America exports. A Nazi Europe would use trade as a political weapon, imposing an economic bondage to 'soften" Latin America for fascist bondage. For our neighbors in the south the economic cooperation of the Americas is the support of democracy.

Since the United States cannot and would not permit a Nazi Latin America, it must choose between democratic cooperation and imperialism. The United States cannot let Latin America alone. If Hitler wins, imperialist big business and the appearers and fascists who now oppose

democratic cooperation will yell, "We must live in the same world with Hitler; let him have Europe, let Japan have Asia (where our economic stake is small and our trade could be diverted), let us take Latin America." A new and tougher imperialism might be inaugurated, based on a theory of "continental Lebensraum" and using the military power forged for national defense to strike down our southern neighbors. That would be bad for the neighbors and bad for us. The older financial imperialism is dying where it is not dead. It was sprawling and competitive; it cherished profits beyond political interests, allowed the development of liberal democratic forces that disintegrated imperialism. Fascist imperialism makes a political monopoly of imperialist power, revives the bloody colonialism of early capitalism, destroys all economic independence and freedom, and makes slave labor universal. Imperialism today can flourish only if it uses fascist techniques. American imperialism means American fascism.

Is democratic cooperation possible? It is. Arguments to the contrary are unrealistic and defeatist. An understanding of the nature of imperialism gives us the elements of a non-imperialist policy. Imperialism exploits backward countries, makes their economy disastrously dependent on the movements of the world market, and deprives them of economic independence. It overdevelops their production of foodstuffs and minerals for export. As a result they find themselves with a lopsided economy which rests on one or two crops or minerals—for example, coffee, sugar, rubber, oil. Naturally, terrific dislocations are experienced when there is a world crisis: prices fall, demand dries up, and purchasing power vanishes. Such dislocations are largely responsible for the economic prostration of Latin American nations. Imperialism discourages industrialization in the countries it controls; it wants no competition with home manufactures. It invests its capital primarily in the extractive industries and in transportation and public utilities that produce services, not goods. Of \$5,113,000,000 worth of foreign corporate securities floated in the United States up to 1929, only \$460,000,000 was for manufacturing enterprises; to come nearer home, three-quarters of the \$1,265,000,000 of American capital invested in Mexico ten years ago was invested in oil, mining, smelting, and railroads. A non-industrial country which produces raw materials and imports manufactures cannot resist imperialist penetration. Strategic industries come under foreign control and are used to promote imperialist profits, not local production and consumption. Wages, salaries, and purchasing power are kept low. Imperialism is feudalism in a capitalist form.

The exact opposites of the practices of imperialism provide the elements of a policy of economic cooperation. These are:

1. Economic diversification and balance—which means ending Latin American dependence on the production and export of one or two crops or minerals; limiting the output of foodstuffs and minerals to what the world market can reasonably absorb; emphasizing intensive industrialization.

2. National economic independence. This can be secured by the investment of foreign capital in Latin America on a functional basis and not for imperialist or political ends; by the encouragement of local manufactures whether or not they compete with foreign goods; by the investment of capital, through state cooperation and planning, in a form that leaves ownership and control within Latin America. The increase of Latin American purchasing power and consumption, not imperialist profits, must be regarded as the object of economic activity.

3. Encouragement of diversified reciprocal trade; the end of unequal trade in which a few highly industrial nations force their goods and terms on many agricultural nations.

4. The withdrawal of direct imperialist controls where they still exist.

It is interesting to note that most, not all, of the elements of a non-imperialist policy were embodied in the Havana decisions—their first acceptance by a great power like the United States.

Now this is not altruism, and it means more than hemisphere defense. A non-imperialist policy is as much in the interest of the people of the United States as in the interest of Latin America. An old-style bureaucrat said to me: "The United States is not the g. antor of the economic well-being of the Americas." That is true. But it misses the point, which is that cooperation for mutual well-being is the alternative to imperialism. Purchasing power and consumption are kept down by imperialist exploitation, by its restrictive practices, its low prices for colonial producers and high prices for industrial consumers, its high profits. If by following a nonimperialist policy we help the Latin American nations to obtain economic independence and balance by means of industrialization, they will be able to buy more goods from us and we shall be able to buy more from them. That means greater production and consumption, higher standards of living for all.

Industrialization is the heart of the problem. It is clear that Nazi domination of Latin America would discourage industrialization. The Nazis' policy is to deprive other peoples of industrial power, which is military power. If they plan to keep non-German nations in Europe as colonial agrarian dependents of a master industrial Germany they will not do the opposite in Latin America. Fascism reintegrates imperialism on a new basis—de-industrialization and totalitarian slavery for subject peoples. Its attitude was expressed in the plan to attack

Uruguay, which, according to that country's government, "contained measures tending to insure the functioning of our country as a German agricultural colony."

It is one of our advantages over the Nazis that the United States can encourage Latin American industrialization. Where there is no drive for imperial domination there is no need to destroy the industrial power of other peoples. Moreover, continental resources and great inner markets make it economically unnecessary for the United States to force exports upon colonial dependents. This fact is beginning to be recognized. I showed a Washington official the following words which appeared in the London New Statesman and Nation:

There is neither strategy nor tactics that will enable us to end this war as we began it, an easygoing island people living off the fruits of empire. We must turn our restrictive monopoly economy into an expanding consumption economy, raise the purchasing power of raumaterials countries within and outside our empire, and by enriching the world as a whole lighten the burden of war on our people.

The response was emphatic: "That's it. And if the British propose to do it while at war we can surely do it while at peace."

It can be done. It is the final answer to fascism. If the Nazis win the war, the colonial possessions of European nations must be taken over by the American nations. But that is not enough. The Latin American property of European nationals must be expropriated; upward of \$5,000,000,000 of investments in Latin America would give Hitler a tremendous power. And if Britain wins, the destruction of imperialist controls in Latin America must be part of the peace, of a new democratic world order in which "an expanding consumption economy" will be the unbreakable barrier to a resurgence of fascism.

A handful of imperialist monopoly corporations in this country are already on the job trying to impede and distort the democratic economic cooperation of the Americas by their influence over personnel and plans. To recognize their interests is to destroy cooperation. Everywhere in Latin America, from Mexico to Argentina, the governments are breaking imperialist controls in order to regain economic independence. The most recent illustration is the new Cuban constitution, in effect since October 10, which calls for a national bank to end the foreign banking monopoly (Canadian and United States) and for measures "to cause the land to revert to Cuban ownership" and to break up the large estates owned mainly by United States sugar companies. Imperialist corporations will resist; they will impose boycotts and spread slanderous tales. Mexico was branded as fascist when it was forced by the boycott of United States and British corporations to sell oil to Italy, Germany, and Japan. Nothing is better calculated to destroy economic cooperation than government protection of plundering

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corporations that got their properties for very little in the first place and have already made immense profits on their investment. Nothing is better calculated to further the Nazis' game; while monopoly oil corporations carried on a boycott against Bolivia the Nazis proposed to barter Bolivian tin for German equipment and technicians to make more efficient the expropriated oil industry. Cooperation must not be conditional on the settlement of Latin American debts; the money that would pay the interest should be used to promote the industry and trade of the Americas.

The larger implications of hemisphere defense and cooperation fit into the economic needs of the Americas and the trend of the times. That trend is toward greater economic unity and self-sufficiency of regions and continents. Hitler did not create the trend but he exploits it. If the Nazis win they will impose an oppressive economic unity in the form of a totalitarian "federation" of Europe; if Britain wins there must be a free federation, the democratic United States of Europe, or else chaos will come and a resurgence of fascism. The war is transforming the old economic order; there is no going back; the choice is totalitarian or democratic transformation. Those who see in Hitlerism merely "a danger to international free competition and natural price levels"

are dead wrong, for those conditions were already being destroyed by monopoly capitalism and imperialism. The world moves toward greater economic unity; cooperative planning and action are needed to create an expanding consumption economy that is the opposite of imperialism or fascism.

Already Latin Americans use the words "a continental economy by means of continental economic agreements." Within the larger continental unity there should be regional cooperation and agreements between groups of Latin American nations and among those nations singly, integrated by cooperation and agreements with the United States. That would mean a mutually complementary American economy that fully used all its resources, in which no part exploited the other parts and all gained from democratic cooperation. Out of that should arise an American League of Nations for continuing discussion of economic, military, political, and cultural problems. Such an American League would have a strength that the world League did not have—a strength derived from an economic program drawing the member nations together in cooperative action.

[This is the first of two articles. In an early issue Mr. Corey will discuss concrete economic measures of co-operation.]

Labor's Catholic Bloc

BY RICHARD H. ROVERE

NE day in the spring of 1937 salesgirl strikers trudging up and down in front of the F. W. Woolworth store on Union Square were joined by some outsiders who bore a banner with a strange device—a placard inscribed with a quotation from the Quadragesimo Anno encyclical of Pope Pius XI. The newcomers were not Communists from the nearby American Kremlin seeking to prove that the Holy See, like Daniel Boone, belonged to them, but members of a small band of Roman Catholic unionists and labor sympathizers who had just formed the first national organization of Catholic workers in America. The demonstration of sympathy with the Woolworth girls was their first official act. Today, after almost four years of rapid growth, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists is in the labor movement with all the energy and self-assurance the Roman faith can call up in its adherents, and the organization has taken its place as one of the most considerable of labor's pressure groups. Since its aim is to win all Catholic wage-earners for unionism and all Catholic unionists for the A. C. T. U., labor leaders—some encouraged, some deeply disturbed—are watching it closely.

The A. C. T. U. is not, for the present at least, an effort to set up autonomous and exclusive unions for Catholic workingmen on the European or Canadian model. Indeed, most of its leaders go out of their way to assert that such a development, so often anticipated and feared by non-Catholics, has no part in their plans. It is an organization of Catholic members of all bona fide unions in America except the Workers' Alliance, which the church considers too hopelessly dominated by Communists for Catholics to join.

The mandate for the existence of the A. C. T. U., its leaders say, springs from the present state of capitalist society and from the social strictures of church doctrine, particularly as expressed in the political encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI. Leo, it will be remembered, set down in the famous Rerum Novarum the right of Catholic workers to organize into unions and urged that, wherever it was feasible, strictly Catholic unions be formed. The late Pius XI, in the Quadragesimo Anno, written for the fortieth anniversay of Rerum Novarum in 1931, said that in "neutral" countries like the United States Catholics should join the secular labor organizations, but that

"... side by side with these trade unions, there must always be associations which aim at giving the members a thorough religious and moral training, that these in turn may impart to the labor unions to which they belong the upright spirit which should direct their entire conduct." These words were the direct inspiration of the A. C. T. U.

In its present form, therefore, the A. C. T. U. parallels the structure of A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions, in which it has a strong representation. There is a pyramid of organizations, and there are national committees in which general principles and strategy are determined. Each large industrial city has its own branch. By far the major portion of the members' activity, however, is in the union locals to which they belong. Operating in the manner which has proved so effective for the Communists in achieving power in the labor movement, a similarity which it admits is intentional, the A. C. T. U. seeks favor for its principles first of all by making itself useful to the union and its members. Realizing that the Communists win a following because they are energetic and selfsacrificing participants in day-to-day labor struggles, the Catholics are following suit.

Needless to say, they are a group well equipped to do so. They man picket lines, set up soup kitchens and strikerelief agencies, solicit moral and financial support from their priests and their laity. Catholic lawyers, who together with priests are the only non-union members of the A. C. T. U., maintain the Catholic Workers' Defense League, which defends wronged workers with far less religious and political partiality than the Communists' International Labor Defense, of which it is an obvious imitation. With these activities as tokens of good-will, the Catholics look to their own interests. The "fraction" supports or opposes union administrations on the basis of compatibility with A. C. T. U. principles, secures Catholic priests as speakers and chaplains for union meetings, proselytizes for both the church and its own organization. A national organ, the Labor Leader, is published bi-weekly in several sectional editions. In many unions A. C. T. U. members get out "shop papers." More than a dozen A. C. T. U. schools, training members in the arts of parliamentary procedure and labor leadership, have been set up throughout the country.

The policies which the A. C. T. U. fosters in the labor movement are familiar enough to those who have followed the more progressive wing of the church in larger political arenas. Roughly, its position is that of the liberal Catholic weekly, the Commonweal, one of whose editors was among the founders of the A. C. T. U. Although it has on occasion made common cause with radicals of all persuasions, it is basically opposed to Marxism. Most of its fire is reserved for the Stalinists, but it makes slight distinction between them and groups that are not so far left, like the Social Demo-

cratic Federation. It is against all manifestations of Coughlinism, though it fights these with somewhat less vigor and attention than it musters against communism. Opposition to racketeering extends to Catholic racketeers like Joe Ryan of the New York longshoremen and the many Catholic leaders in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. As yet, it has taken no sides on conscription, war, or the issues of the national Presidential campaign. It puts the most radical interpretations possible on the papal decrees, presenting them, in effect, as an expression of the medievalist guild socialism that so many of the Catholic intelligentsia have espoused. Some may point out that the majority of Catholics have a different view of the encyclicals, but A. C. T. U. leaders will answer that this is only because many Catholics, particularly the property-owning laity, have become unfortunately "Protestantized" in their social thought.

The precise strength of the A. C. T. U. is not easy to estimate. Its mass membership is less than 10,000, but like other such organizations its strength does not flow from its numbers. More effort is directed toward training leaders and extending hegemony over approximately four million Catholics in the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. than toward winning dues-paying members. Most important, of all, the A. C. T. U. has members and friends in high places. Philip Murray, new head of the C. I. O., is a practicing Catholic, and, whether or not he is a member of the A. C. T. U., he has frequently collaborated with it and praised its work. Thomas Kennedy and John Brophy of the United Mine Workers, Van A. Bittner and David MacDonald of the steel union, Thomas Burns of the United Rubber Workers, R. J. Thomas and George Addes of the United Automobile Workers are all either members or close friends of the organization. The head of the New York chapter is George R. Donahue, general manager of the United Retail and Wholesale Employees and one of the most intelligent and farsighted young labor leaders in the city. Harry Read, who led the American Newspaper Guild strike against Hearst, is president of the Chicago chapter. The Rev. John P. Boland, chairman of the New York State Labor Relations Board, is an enthusiastic member of the A. C. T. U. and teaches regularly at one of its four schools in New York.

The work that the A. C. T. U. has done thus far in the labor movement is, on the whole, commendable from almost any point of view. At a critical period it showed labor that organized Catholics could work for ends other than those of Father Coughlin. It has become an increasingly valuable ally in combating racketeering in the A. F. of L. Although it is obvious that it does not speak for the whole church on industrial relations, it has made what is by far its most valuable contribution in lining up behind labor sections of the church previously antagonistic or non-committal. Perhaps the best example of this was in the auto workers' strike against Chrysler Motors

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late in 1937, a few months after the A. C. T. U. was founded. For a while, owing to serious tactical blunders on the part of union leaders, the strike lagged, and it seemed that, if Chrysler won, the U. A. W. A. would lose most of the gains it had made in the preceding months. At the lowest point the A. C. T. U. leaders conferred with Archbishop Mooney and members of the Michigan hierarchy. A few days later the Michigan Catholic, diocesan organ, came out with an editorial that blasted Chrysler and praised the C. I. O. organizing effort. The A. C. T. U. got busy and spread the message to Catholics throughout the automobile center. A meeting was held in Cadillac Square at which Catholic workers were exhorted to pitch in and help win the strike. The strike was won, and there was little doubt in the minds of most observers that credit for reversing the trend belonged to the Catholic unionists. The stock of the A. C. T. U. shot up.

Despite the fact that its sincerity is generally respected and its good work appreciated, there is, I have found, a good deal of uneasiness and suspicion of the Catholic excursion into unionism in the minds of many labor leaders. Some of this, to be sure, is not unrelated to the kind of Know-Nothing prejudice that has long worked unjustly against Catholics in national politics, but behind much of it there are more deep-seated and reasoned doubts. Religious splits have contributed to the ruin of whole labor movements in other countries, and the A. C. T. U., although it is not a dual union, is the first

large-scale attempt to set up a religious grouping within the national labor organizations. The introduction of any religious issues divides authority and always brings a reaction among partisans of other faiths. Already there is talk in many Protestant circles of combating the influence of Rome with an Association of Protestant Trade Unionists. In such a case, the United Hebrew Trades, which never extended beyond strictly Jewish neighborhoods and has been dormant for years, might be revived. Such division would bring subdivision and the result might well be unions built along religious lines and the virtual Europeanization of the American labor movement.

There is another distressing aspect to the problem. The A. C. T. U., as has been noted, resembles the Communists in the methods it uses to win support among the workers. But the resemblance goes much deeper. Catholics, like Communists, are often controlled by forces beyond the vision of most Americans; Rome, like Moscow, has its own interests, and although its political control over its followers is less absolute than Moscow's, it is always difficult to tell which way it plans to jump, particularly in the midst of a world in crisis. Moreover, the approach of both Catholics and Communists to the labor movement is millennial. While most labor leaders look to the here and now or to a plainly visible future in determining strategy, Catholics and Communists look to goals far in the distance, and the ends of both are so grandiose that almost any means seem justified for their attainment.



Communist maneuvers in the labor movement are well known, but the fact is that the A. C. T. U. has on occasion made alliances no less cynical, sometimes with the Communists themselves.

In the New York Newspaper Guild, for example, A. C. T. U. members work both sides of the street and some of the corners. About a year ago some of the Catholic leaders negotiated with the opposition group known as the Guild progressives, which consists of Socialists, Social Democrats, and independents who believe that Communists dominate and discredit the Guild leadership. The A. C. T. U. joined this opposition movement, but no sooner was it in than it set up a caucus of its own to maintain contact with some A. C. T. U. members on the other side of the fence and to advance the A. C. T. U. within the opposition. Thus the A. C. T. U. cooperated with the opposition against the non-Catholics in the administration and with the Catholics in the administration against the opposition. When the ballots were counted at the Memphis convention of the Guild last spring, the opposition found that its Catholic support had practically disappeared, most of it going to fellow-Catholics on both sides.

It would not be fair to suggest that the experience of the Guild is universal. In a large local of the Building Service Employees' International in New York, Catholics moved into the opposition and pushed through a reform slate of six, only two of whom were Catholics. Many of the leaders are aware of the dynamite in a religious quarrel. Nevertheless, the tendency to divide along religious lines is always present among zealous members.

Whatever irritations the A. C. T. U. may cause in the labor movement, its continuance and growth are inevitable. The Catholic church seems to have cast off its almost absolute hostility to unionism that marked the period of the Knights of Labor and the early days of the A. F. of L. After all, the church in America is not a large owner of productive property, and its revenue depends to a great extent on the maintenance of high wages for its working-class membership. If the A. C. T. U. can work as a friendly liaison agent between the church and the unions, the alliance will have its value.

Negroes and Defense

BY METZ T. P. LOCHARD

THE attitude of the Negro toward national defense and the European war must be examined in the light of a growing, subtle nationalism that conditions the thought-process of the leadership of America's thirteen million blacks. Unable to integrate himself fully into the social and economic pattern of American culture, the Negro has attempted to formulate a doctrine of separatism as a rational escape from the rigors of race prejudice and discrimination. The very nature of the social situation has forced him into acceptance of the fallacy that his people are a "nation within a nation." This may explain why the strident cry for national preparedness leaves him unresponsive; he fears that he may be unable to exact appreciable guaranties from the national government as a condition for his support. His habitual emotionalism is conspicuously restrained in the midst of a contagious war hysteria.

The Negro is nevertheless fully aware of the dangers that threaten democracy, and he is not disposed to minimize the gravity of the circumstances that call for defense and unity as measures of national security. Isolationist propaganda has had no effect on him. He believes in some form of intervention in the European war as an inescapable alternative to actual engagement. Aid to Britain is conceived to be a necessary expedient in the present emergency, though the Negro nurses no in-

born love for England. The unmitigated exploitation of black labor in the Crown colonies in Africa, the suppression of fundamental political rights in the West Indies, the refusal of the Secretary for the Colonies to place before the British Parliament the aspirations of the natives of West Africa with respect to universal education, political suffrage, and abolition of child labor—these and many other instances of rapacity and imperialism have not endeared Britain to the hearts of black men. Realizing, however, that the fall of England, in this crisis, cannot but foreshadow a total eclipse of democracy and of representative government, the Negro is willing to cast aside his traditional Anglophobia.

More than any other racial minority, Negroes have a stake in democracy. Under a system in which they could not exercise the power of the ballot they would lose every vestige of human rights. Certainly they could cherish no hope in a fascist society that relegated them to the status of "auxiliary" or "subhuman" race, as Hitler puts it in "Mein Kampf." The Italian invasion of peaceful Ethiopia and the ruthless dismemberment of that last independent African kingdom in 1935, the recent expulsion of all people of African descent from German-occupied France, the Nazis' destruction of all French monuments to black soldiers as "insults to the dignity of the white race" have thoroughly awakened

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the Negro masses to the dangers of fascism. While the absorption of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium excited little emotional feeling among American Negroes, the invasion of France brought quite a different reaction. For France, with its historic declaration of the Rights of Men, with its traditional liberalism and racial tolerance was, in the sight of all black men, the living symbol of democracy.

The Negro sees in the conflict between fascism and democracy a serious challenge to those political principles through which he has been hoisted out of chattel slavery and through which true social justice may eventually be attained in America. He recognizes, therefore, that the present emergency imposes upon his race the necessity of retreating from the untenable position of a "nation within a nation." But if he is willing to forgo the defensive attitude into which he has been forced, he does so in order to secure a more equitable participation in the affairs of this republic. The determination not to surrender his democratic rights even under the stress of a national emergency is based upon past experience.

In October, 1918, a month before the signing of the Armistice, the War Department sent Dr. Robert R. Moton—the late principal of Tuskegee Institute—to France to advise Negro soldiers who had had a glimpse of real democracy not to press the government upon their return for extension of hard-earned democratic rights. In fact, Secretary Baker informed Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, then editor of the *Crisis*, "We are not trying by this war to settle the Negro problem."

The Negro problem is a major problem of American democracy. If the black man is called upon to defend this democracy, he has a legitimate claim to those rights which are guaranteed by the fundamental laws of the form of political government which he is urged to protect. If this be an incorrect view, the Negro has no reason, except human compassion, to be exercised about a war fought by white folk, for the exclusive benefit and glorification of white folk. He should be given the unconditional choice between fighting as a slave for the perpetuity of a nefarious system and fighting as a free man for free institutions.

In 1917 the War Department, after tenaciously refusing to train Negro officers in established military centers, finally provided, upon the plea of Joel Spingarn, chairman of the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a Jim Crow officers' training camp at Des Moines, Iowa. The man eminently qualified to head this camp was Charles Young, a black man, then lieutenant colonel in the regular United States army. He had a splendid army record. He had accompanied General Pershing in the Mexican foray and received high commendation from the man who later became commander-in-chief of the American Expeditionary Force. He was in good health, and only

forty-nine years of age. In the accelerated scheme of wartime promotion he would have attained the rank of a general in the army by 1918. But a black general in the United States army was too much of a nightmare for the brass hats in Washington.

The Det Moines camp was established in May. When Young came up in June for examination for promotion to a colonelcy, the medical board retired him for "high blood pressure." An entire corps of white officers was appointed to train the colored cadets.

Fear of a repetition of a chain of ugly incidents led recently to a White House conference at which Walter White, secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and T. Arnold Hill of the National Youth Administration submitted a seven-point memorandum to President Roosevelt. This memorandum urged that Negroes be used as reserve officers and that the same training opportunities be given to Negroes as to others. It requested that existing units of the army be required to accept officers and enlisted personnel on the basis of ability instead of race or color. It asked for the abolition of racial discrimination in the navy and recommended the appointment of competent Negro civilians as assistants to the Secretaries of War and the Navy. Some of these requests have been granted, but in the main the War and Navy departments are still clinging to their policy of discrimination—a policy based on traditions of caste and social life in a professional army and navy.

In the hope of lifting his status beyond the limitations of a theoretical citizenship, the Negro has made sacrificial offerings in every major struggle in which this nation has been engaged. Four thousand Negro soldiers served with the Continental army during the American Revolution. Andrew Jackson had no compunction about mobilizing black men in the War of 1812. He said in his proclamation to them, "Through a mistaken policy you have heretofore been deprived of participation in the glorious struggle for national rights in which your country is engaged. This no longer shall exist. As sons of freedom you are now called upon to defend your most inestimable blessing." Some 178,000 Negroes served in the Civil War. Black troops acquitted themselves creditably at Las Sussinas, El Caney, and San Juan Hill in the Spanish-American War. Of the 400,000 Negro soldiers mobilized for action during the first World War, 40,000 were on the firing line.

Despite this impressive record, black men are still discriminated against in the caste-ridden United States army. Not a single Negro officer is on duty with regular-army troops. Not a single Negro reserve officer is serving in the regular army. Under the Thomason Act Congress this year made provision in its regular appropriation for training 650 reserve officers, drawn from schools and

colleges, with units of the regular army. Howard University in Washington, D. C., and Wilberforce University in Ohio are two Negro institutions with senior ROTC units. The War Department has completely ignored them.

The only Negro troops in the United States army with full combat status are in the Twenty-fifth Infantry. The Twenty-fourth Infantry and the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry, which have distinguished themselves in many engagements, are serving in training schools as laborers and personal servants. At present, of the total strength of 229,636 officers and enlisted men only 4,451 are Negroes. There are fewer Negro troops in the National Guard today than there were on the eve of the first World War. The first separate Negro battalion of the 372d Infantry, assigned to the District of Columbia, is kept on a skeleton basis with only Company A mustered in and that company denied the facilities of training and housing. Companies in Tennessee and Connecticut have been dissolved. The Negro citizens of West Virginia have been attempting to form a National Guard regiment in their state but have had, so far, no success. In the case of an established battalion in New Jersey, the War Department has flatly refused to grant it federal

According to General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff, the National Guard has a shortage of men. Yet the army refused to take additional Negro units, which could have been inducted into the service in the new categories required in the program of expansion. All these facts and figures were presented recently to the House Subcommit-

tee on Military Affairs by two eminent Negro scholars— Dr. Rayford Logan, of the Department of History of Howard University, and Dr. Charles Houston, former dean of the Howard Law School.

On June 5, 1939, the Secretary of War, testifying before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, stated that the War Department was studying ways to provide training for Negro pilots. As yet no Negro is being trained for service in the army air corps as either a flying cadet or an enlisted mechanic. The Secretary of War designated a school at Glenfield, Illinois, but the War Department has refused to accept Negroes in that corps. On October 11, Garland F. Pinkston, a Negro, received the following letter signed by Herbert M. West, Jr., First Lieutenant, United States Air Corps, Recorder:

Dear Sir: Through the most unfortunate circumstances, your application was allowed to be completed because of our ignorance of your race. At the present time the United States Army is not training any except members of the white race for duty as pilots of military aircraft.

Thirteen million Negroes, representing a vast reservoir of possible war material, are being ignored and in some instances openly humiliated. It is therefore not surprising that Negro citizens are without enthusiasm for national defense. They can have no faith in the leadership of an army or a navy that denies them the right to serve their country on an equal footing with other citizens.

On "The Duty of the Emigré"

[The interest and controversy aroused by J. Alvarez del Vayo's recent article on the role of the political émigré in America led the editors of The Nation to invite opinions from a number of leading European anti-fascists living in this country. The comments which follow offer a fairly representative cross-section of nationalities and points of view. Count Carlo Sforza, former Foreign Minister of Italy, who was also asked to contribute, expressed his interest and promised to write a brief article on the same general subject for an early issue.—
EDITORS THE NATION.]

PIERRE COT

Air Minister in several French Cabinets, including the Popular Front government of Léon Blum

ALVAREZ DEL VAYO has issued a call to all those who have emigrated from Europe to the United States and are anxious to continue the fight against fascism (*The Nation*, December 14). In the name of the French democrats who have remained faithful to the spirit of the French Revolution, I declare myself in complete accord with him. But I want to

make clear the conditions that must govern common action on the part of the anti-fascist émigrés.

First, we are political refugees benefiting from the hospitality of the United States. This obliges us never to do anything which might in any way interfere with the actions of the United States. This requires us to abstain from all intervention in the internal politics of the United States and from any act which might be inopportune or dangerous to the government of the United States. Second, we have left a very extensive field of action. We know the means employed by fascist propaganda to tear apart the moral unity of the democracies; we can enable America to profit from our experience. Third, certain anti-fascist émigrés belong to nations whose prestige has remained great in Latin America. It is their duty to use this influence to denounce everywhere Hitler and Mussolini as enemies of civilization and of the liberty of peoples. Fourth, by our knowledge of the European political personnel we can contribute to the enlightenment of American public opinion and prevent the creation of certain legends. For quite a while English and American "appeasers" believed Hitle Wey is er. An Fren Revo hims Franc by th or th what Pétai anoth

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that it was possible to separate Mussolini and Franco from Hitler. They made this same error with respect to Pétain and Weygand. Our duty is to explain to them why their attitude is erroneous.

America must know that the immense majority of the French people remain faithful to the ideals of the French Revolution. The policy of Marshal Pétain, who dishonored himself in giving up political refugees to Hitler and to Franco, will create the same popular reaction that was aroused by the policy of Louis Philippe, the policy of Napoleon III, or that of Marshal MacMahon. The only difficulty is to know what form this reaction will take. France will not get rid of Pétain in order to accept another dictatorship and to follow another reactionary and conservative policy. French conservatives are largely behind Pétain on account of their hatred of democracy and socialism. But the conservatives are a minority which is every day being more thoroughly discredited by their acts. With the fall of Hitler the Pétain regime will disappear. And it will disappear through the uprising of popular forces. To reason otherwise would be to ignore both the history of France and the social-perhaps revolutionary-character of the present European conflict. This is the kind of information that a French democrat, knowing French politics and measuring the strength and the weakness of fascism in Europe, can contribute to the American public.

But let us come back to Del Vayo's proposition. I am for it in that it can help me to pay my debt to American democracy, which is as interested in the defeat of fascism as is French democracy.

HANS KOHN

Professor of European bistory at Smith College and author of "Revolution and Dictatorships" and "Not by Arms Alone" I THINK that Mr. Del Vayo's suggestion of a union of all anti-fascist forces in a single fighting front is of the utmost timeliness and importance. It is most regrettable that at a time when fascist forces are strongly united and are cooperating, in spite of some divergences of interest and theory, in what is to them the one fundamental task—the world-wide liquidation of democracy—anti-fascist forces should be divided by differences of interest and theory which are entirely secondary to their one main task, the defeat of fascism. The triumph of fascism has been and will be secured by the inability of the democracies, and of the different groups within each democratic movement, to cooperate and to relegate their differences of interest and ideology for the time being to the background.

NORMAN ANGELL

British economist; author of "America's Dilemma" and coauthor of "You and the Refugee"

DEL VAYO'S article makes it clear that the Allies have hardly begun to learn the use of that non-military weapon which Hitler has used with such amazing success, without which, indeed, he could never have succeeded in his military effort. That weapon is, of course, the manipulation of political opinion among his enemies—the manipulation of opinions, differences, rivalries, internal hostilities in such a way that military forces built up for the purpose of resisting him are handed over to him for the promotion of his own ends. By playing upon the cupidities, fears, personal resentments,

passions, retaliations of 10 per cent, or less, of the French people he has been able to use the resources of France to enslave the French. But while he can use 10 per cent of the people for the enslavement of the whole, we seem to be quite unable to use the 90 per cent for the purpose of their own liberation. The truth is that we have been blindly skeptical about the possibilities of this weapon; we have not shown in its use an energy, patience, persistence, skill, or ingenuity at all comparable to that of the Nazis.

Does not the present situation of Italy, for instance, suggest opportunities which Hitler would have known how to use? The Italian people know full well that if they call for German aid, it is the end of Italian independence; Italy becomes a German province. Defeat by Britain would not make Italy a British province. The situation, therefore, is that the Italian people would, in fact, far rather be conquered by their enemy than aided by their ally. And already in Spain the threat of German invasion is drawing together Spaniards who yesterday were bitter enemies. Hitler would have known how to use such a situation. Do we?

BJARNE BRAATOY

Norwegian author and journalist; member of the Norwegian Shipping and Trade Commission in the United States

DEL VAYO'S proposal for a "sort of Central Council of the Emigration" is attractive. But his article raised more questions than it answered. He apparently sees the council as a political organ. In that case the problem of representation alone becomes nearly insoluble, even if he excludes those nations whose governments continue to be recognized by the United States although their countries have been overrun. The political authority of such a council would be doubtful in the extreme, whatever the past record of its members.

The duty of the émigré is to justify himself with reference to the problems of the present and the future. A Central Council of the Emigration might provide him with the opportunity if it would take example from the efforts of certain American organizations, such as the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, the Council on Foreign Relations, the American Committee on International Studies, the American Committee on European Reconstruction. For some time past they have been actively considering the problems of relief, reconstruction, and the "new world order." The vexatious problems of representation and political authority would be avoided if the émigrés would similarly pool their undeniable resources in knowledge and experience of the many countries concerned. By doing so they would be playing a perhaps more modest role, but might in the end contribute more to the struggle against fascism than by giving advice to men whose past record may, indeed, include a "Munich" but who are actually fighting this war.

PAUL HAGEN

Representative of the German anti-Nazi political movement
"Neu Beginnen"

A COUNCIL of the current European emigration in America could be very useful if it limited its activity to specific tasks—namely, coordination of rescue work, coordination of information, encouragement of victims inside occupied territories, and a certain amount of preparation of future

plans. A council of émigrés planning to rectify the "margin of errors" of larger forces and to lead Europe to revolution— "the people who today are living under Hitler's terror must be led to revolt against his intolerable despotism"—would be utopian.

The reason that we do not have such a council already is not found in emigrant jealousies, timidity in presenting "courageous visions," or the like. Such and other shortcomings of the émigré are not the cause but the product of his difficulties. Like previous emigrations, we who have come from Hitler's Europe represent the tradition of our defeats, the immaturity of the movements to which we belonged, more than the potentiality of future victories. Our chance to participate in future victories depends very little on ourselves. The key which will close the door on appeasement and open it to the kind of political warfare which might still hinder a Nazi victory is not in our hands, not even in the hands of the exiled governments. It is in the hands of the British and their American reserve. Whether there shall be democratic revolutions in Europe after the war depends on the Labor Party, on Churchill, and on the United States.

Independent revolutionary movements existed during the last war, but in the present world situation such movements can be developed only after a victory over the totalitarian machines. Therefore the independent preparation of such movements by any center operating from Britain, America, or elsewhere is today a different job from what it was in the last war. Success is dependent on a British victory, and inspiring "visions" or positive criticism will be spoken in the air if they do not have the strength to convince the British first.

MAX ASCOLI

Dean of the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research; formerly on the faculty of several Italian universities

OF COURSE I agree with Del Vayo's article on The Duty of the Emigré and with his proposal for a Central Council of the European Emigration. The article was more than timely; it was overdue. The idea has been milling for months in the heads of a number of people, and once we have contributed our reactions and qualifications to Del Vayo's proposal, we should start working.

Incidentally, I must say that I hate the word "émigré." It has a distinct taste of Coblentz, of people who cling desperately to habits and ways of thinking belonging to a past that is hopelessly gone. Exile, I think, is a much better word, and I think that the first duty of the exiles is exactly that of not being émigrés. All of us who have been uprooted from our countries because of our political beliefs should first of all search with all possible energy for the causes that brought us to defeat. In this country we have now the representatives of every oppressed European nation and of every disbanded European political group. If we exiles do not profit from the opportunity offered by American democracy for discovering, each one for himself, the narrowness of the European nationalisms, the dogmatism and the petty shrewdness of European democratic politics, then I think we have a very poor future ahead of us-the future of men who are useless to the land they came from and to the country that gives them a chance to start life over again.

This is the reason that Del Vayo's proposal is so good. But in joining forces the representatives of the various European political and national groups should realize that it is up to them to give shape to the first nucleus of a renewed, united Europe, and to set the example for it. The Central Council of the Emigration must accomplish a work of European statesmanship—if it does not want to be an association of shipwrecked intellectuals and politicians.

I am sure Del Vayo realizes that the best way of informing and influencing American public opinion is by showing the American people that Europe is not an eternal, hopeless mess and that a new order can be envisaged and prepared for Europe by men who have found new homes in the United States. Those of the exiles who have already become American citizens can best prove their loyalty to American democracy by working for a new, united, and democratic Europe.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Hungarian criminologist; lecturer at the New School for Social Research

COMMON SENSE and plain logic are powerful seconders of Mr. Del Vayo's praiseworthy motion calling upon the émigrés to participate in the struggle against fascism. It is the duty of its victims to fight against a movement which offers no other alternative but extermination or submission to a brainless and soulless tyranny. Tolerance and protection of civil liberties are the strongest ramparts of any democracy. When this precious American inheritance is at stake the refugee must not remain a bystander watching complacently how others bear the brunt of the attack. The least that may be expected from any refugee is an offer to render voluntary service in the sixth column that must be organized to make the fifth innocuous.

All this, however, presupposes that the American authorities at last discriminate between refugees who just want to save their skin after fascism has put a spoke in their wheel and those others who, like Mr. Del Vayo himself, fought for democracy in Europe until it became impossible to continue the battle. I don't think that the majority of Americans would disdain the assistance even of aliens in the defense of American ideals. What we can offer them is our experience of how it happened over there. Thank God, there are not many who want it to happen here.

FRANZ HOELLERING

Former Austrian journalist; author of "The Defenders" WITH his proposal of a "sort of Central Council for the Emigration" Mr. Del Vayo touched upon a vital problem of many facets. Its positive solution might well influence what will follow after the war. Surely it would be a great thing if the émigrés could present a sound idea of the Europe to come and demonstrate by action that their program is no mere Utopia. So far, alas, they have given few signs of being able to organize themselves in a political sense. The fact of being against Hitler does not even unite nations at war with Hitler, as we have seen.

Mr. Del Vayo speaks of a program of action that will "lay the basis for the new United States of Europe." What does this mean exactly? I hope his appeal will be widely discussed and thus clarified. Once concrete, convincing, and practical AP Un Vay a

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ideas are put forward, then an effective organization of the emigration will follow swiftly. To tackle the job the other way around would be a serious and retarding mistake.

KONRAD HEIDEN

Formerly on the staff of the Frankfurter Zeitung; author of "Hitler," a biography

APPEALS for union are usually a symptom of helplessness. Unfortunately this is true also for the article by Alvarez del Vayo. Union for what? Del Vayo did not say, urging merely a "union against"—against Hitler. This is a well-known trouble, this perpetual negation; it is painfully visible in the term "anti-fascist." Positive goals, above and beyond anti-fascism, are today the prerequisite of any discussion.

Such goals, however, cannot be reached through a vague "union." Del Vayo made this clear, if unwittingly. He formulated no program; indeed, he could not. Any serious outline for a program would immediately arouse violent quarrels, thus proving the irreconcilability of those differences which he wishes to compose. And that is right. For these differences are not the evil force they are usually supposed to be. They represent life. All emigrations are made up of varying national units with their contrasting interests and ideals. A totalitarian dictatorship does not drive one single party into opposition but the nation as a whole. Thus sooner or later a total opposition is created, and this opposition cannot be "united"; it must be heterogeneous. If this opposition is alive it embodies various fighting forces. The successful emigrations of former times showed the deepest schisms, and these endured for the most part to the eve of victory and even beyond it-just because the emigration contained genuine forces. The force which has the greatest future will come through and stifle the others. It can do nothing more fatal to itself than to unite with weaker forces. Genuine political goals cannot be blended.

Del Vayo thus confines himself to suggesting a program for action; in other words, he urges unity about the course without unity about the goal—an inner contradiction which has wrecked all "popular fronts." Del Vayo's suggestion really means, in essence, a new popular front, international in scope, like the League of Nations. It is the fusion, on the rather fictitious soil of emigration, of two experiments which have failed in the past. Better not.

He wants to form a "Central Council of the Emigration," but what is he really going to form? At best a new party within which the individual national emigrations form sections. The Central Council is to be a new kind of International. But if a new party is to be created it ought to have a more far-reaching aim than simply to unite existing parties. The task is not how to unite existing forces but how to arouse new ones. The glueing together of weaknesses creates no force, but existing forces attract new ones. Here it is not union that makes for strength, but strength which unites.

In conclusion, I wish to ask Mr. Del Vayo a practical and very earnest question. He excludes certain trends from his plan for union. American usage terms them "appeasers." Does this also exclude those appeasers who have made non-aggression pacts with Hitler, who for this purpose invited von Ribbentrop to Moscow, who later sent Molotov to Berlin, and who still designate American aid to England a capitalist maneuver?

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Success Story

EVER since I began to write this column nearly two years ago I have again and again dwelt on the relationship between rigid prices and restricted production. Nor do I apologize for harping on this theme, for I believe that it lies at the heart of our economic troubles. We live in an era of rapid technological change, of constant improvements to machinery which result in lower manufacturing costs. But we have made all too little progress in the solution of distribution problems and have failed to keep purchasing power in step with our capacity to produce.

Yet without mass consumption mass production cannot achieve its full potentialities. In factories using repetitive processes a large proportion of costs are incurred before actual output starts. In an automobile plant designed to turn out half a million cars annually a terrific loss would be inevitable if only a few thousand were driven off the assembly line. For each unit, in addition to the actual labor cost, would have to carry the expense of dies, of depreciation of machinery, and of other overheads, which, if the plant were fully occupied, would be divided by 500,000.

This is the most elementary fact in modern industrial economics, and every industrialist is familiar with it. Yet when it comes to pricing policy, all too many manufacturers ignore the logic of their own engineering achievements and arrange their schedules so as to cancel part of the benefits of mass production. They may fix prices, for instance, at a level which will mean they break even at 50 per cent of capacity and make a fair profit at 60 per cent. They then hope that luck and good salesmanship will give them a larger share of the market and enable them to collect the jam represented by the steady increase in margin between cost and price obtained as output rises above 60 per cent. They fail to recognize that technological improvements which lower labor costs also reduce pay rolls and therefore purchasing power unless the savings are passed on to consumers and an additional demand is thus created.

In a state of perfect competition every manufacturer would be compelled to pass on economies in production, but in all too many of our industries prices fixed by administrative methods are influenced only feebly and slowly by the pressures of the market-place. However, competition is not entirely dead, and at this season of good-will I should like to celebrate two recent examples of its beneficial effects.

Early in 1940 the Kelvinator-Nash Corporation threw a bombshell into the refrigerator industry by announcing price cuts of from \$30 to \$40. It was done by concentrating production on the larger models, by a change in distributive methods which reduced charges, and by a cut in unit profits. At the same time production schedules were doubled, thus permitting a decrease in unit costs provided that the planned output could be sold. Other leading makers, who had previously published price schedules practically unchanged from 1939, were forced to meet this challenge. Quotations for

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Hitler,

"stripped" six-foot models were brought down even below those announced by Kelvinator, which in turn made a further revision in prices.

To what extent the total market for refrigerators has been enlarged by these added inducements to purchasers cannot yet be ascertained. In 1939 domestic sales totaled 1,925,000 units, and in 1937, the record year, they reached 2,310,000. At the beginning of 1940 there were 13,700,000 electric refrigerators in use, and with less than 25,000,000 wired homes in the country it was estimated that the saturation point would be reached at about 16,000,000 units. However, the replacement market was growing in importance and was expected to account for 500,000 models this year. There can be no doubt, however, that as the result of lower prices a drastic revision of the saturation point is necessary. Final figures for 1940 are not yet available, but an estimate in a recent issue of the New York *Times* places sales at the record-shattering goal of 2,800,000.

With such an output it would not be surprising to learn that the industry, as a whole, increased its earnings in spite of price cuts and smaller profit margins. It is pleasant to record that Kelvinator, which launched the campaign, has not gone unrewarded. Its 1940 sales have been reported as two and a quarter times those of the previous year, which means a healthy excess over its planned output. Moreover, the Kelvinator-Nash Corporation, which recorded a loss of \$1,573,524 in the twelve months ending September 30, 1939, shows a profit of \$1,505,151 for the year ending September 30, 1940. The accounts do not show how much of this profit was due to the refrigerator division of the business, but the president of the company has stated that the contribution was substantial. It is interesting to note, also, that a similar pricing policy is now being followed in respect of the Nash car.

My other example of healthy competition is in the phonograph-record industry. In August, 1940, the Columbia Recording Company, after a reorganization of its business, neatly cut the price of classical records in two, thus bringing the works of the great masters played by leading artists and orchestras within reach of a whole new range of purchasers. The RCA-Victor Company quickly followed suit, and as a result sales have bounded forward and appear likely to get within striking distance of levels untouched since the industry was invalided by radio competition in the middle twenties. It has been estimated that Columbia's sales of discs in the Masterworks division have been multiplied by five since the price cuts took effect. Nor have earnings suffered, for an official of the company tells me that while the unit margin is naturally much smaller, the per cent of gross carried to profits shows a very satisfactory increase.

Here, then, we have two instances of the way in which lower prices have made possible lower costs and higher output, with benefit to consumer and producer alike. It is to be hoped that the lesson will sink home. In the coming year purchasing power will expand owing to defense expenditures, and in industries where competition is weak there will be a temptation to hoist prices on the theory that the traffic will be able to bear a little more. I believe such a policy would be shortsighted in the extreme and that even if it brought about a temporary increase in profits it would recoil eventually on its pursuers.

In the Wind

ATCH FOR a change in Henry Ford's "foreign policy." As a result of widespread reports about his alleged pro-Nazism, he has left the "America First" committee. Ford's man Bennett—chief spokesman for the corporation—now tells visitors to River Rouge that he's for "kicking hell out of the Nazis when we're fully prepared."

IT HAPPENED AGAIN. A fortnight ago this column reported that the Detroit News had buried an item about Wendel! Willkie on the obituary page. The St. Petersburg Independent, it now appears, ran the following United Press item from New York on December 13: "Wendell Willkie returned from a Florida vacation today and is expected to confer with state leaders of the Willkie clubs to discuss the future of the organization" It appeared in the obituary column.

DR. H. E. CHRISTENBERRY, member of the Knoxville school board, recently protested that "tots two and four years old of both sexes are allowed to use toilet facilities at the same time." Said Dr. Christenberry: "We have no place in our school system for the practices that have been reported. The lowering of moral defense in just such instances has caused the downfall of such countries as France, and I am not in favor of it."

MERWIN K. HART published a half-column denial in the New York *Times* after Harold Ickes accused him of being associated with the fascist fifth column here. Will Mr. Hart deny that a couple of weeks ago he privately met with one of the defendants in the recent Christian Front trial?

ALONG WITH information on how to call the police, the fire departments and the hospital, the New York Telephone Directory now gives special listing to the phone number of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

RALPH INGERSOLL, publisher of PM, has sent a memo to his staff asserting that Communists are now "ganging up" on the paper because it has criticized the C. P. line. The memo describes shifts in the party's attitude toward the paper.

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND'S report that Phil Murray has abandoned the idea of purging the C. I. O. of Staiinists is discounted in informed C. I. O. circles. The purge is coming, but it will be slow and unspectacular.

EVIDENCE IS mounting that Robert Jackson and J. Edgar Hoover don't see eye to eye, although no public break is likely. Tales of friction are reported widely in Washington.

A HOLLYWOOD movie company is planning to do a life of Winston Churchill.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded exh month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

In PENSACOLA, where the sky above the "Annapolis of the Air" is filled every day with the stubby yellow training planes of the young air cadets, citizens on their way to work recently saw a plane crash into the bay. Hours later that afternoon I read the story in the Pensacola News. It was written as a man might cover a ball game from outside the fence, with the people inside the fence being rigidly reticent about the whole matter. But it was not a ball game. It was a serious story and legitimate news. Such details as the navy possessed, I thought then and think now, should have been made promptly available to the press. But increasingly, as I talk to newspapermen on newspapers close to naval and military posts, I get the complaint that officers in charge of press relations are too often ignorant, arrogant, or both.

Any sensible citizen or reporter moving about the country understands the necessity in time of crisis for increasingly strict regulations about entry into important defense positions and projects. Few of the reporters I know expect any intelligent officer to distribute information of a secret nature possibly valuable to some foreign power which might be involved in future war against us. Most men understand the menace of the saboteur, the danger in a time of crisis from foreign agents of every sort.

Even the TVA, which made it an important part of policy to bring the people as close as possible to the projects in its big regional plan for the people, has closed its power plants, boarded up vantage points on the bridges across its dams, and made its employees carry identification cards bearing their photographs. Every precaution against anybody blowing up a power house has been taken, even though the new procedure interferes with the old plan of creating the sense of public participation in the whole job. But TVA keeps its information office going full swing in the work of creating good-will.

Obviously the army and navy in their new rush projects should not be held to the standards in press relations of TVA and other peace-purpose agencies, even if TVA was designed for defense purposes also. TVA has had eight years in which to understand and develop its public-relations job. Working out the press relations of military and naval posts absolutely galloping in increase is a far less simple business. Fortunately, as it may seem to some, the present popularity of defense, and of the army and navy, makes a good press fairly easy—too easy maybe. Some officers can in effect tell inquiring reporters to go

to hell—or lie to them in transparent complacency—without stirring any disturbing newspaper attack upon them. The newspapers are anxious to help defense in every way, and so far it makes little difference that local working reporters are often irritated and angered.

The situation is by no means uniformly bad. In some camps sensible officers under sensible command are working hard and harmoniously with the reporters of the papers around their posts and stations. In others, men trained in soldiering who have assumed the duties of press relations have been more ignorant of their jobs and frightened in them than intentionally condescending and obstructive. But one officer at one post at least, in an off-the-record speech at a press meeting, stated that in his view the whole job of the press is taking what it is given and liking it.

The difficulties seem greater away from Washington than in it. In some of the little towns where big camps and stations and projects have grown, the local press is as much at a loss in meeting the expanded problem as the officers are. There have been cases of bad reporting for which the press and not the officers were to blame. But when there is trouble away from Washington, local officers—when they give any explanation for unnecessary reticence about entirely legitimate news—pass the responsibility for it back to Washington itself. As in all buckpassing, nobody can quite determine the absolute truth.

Wherever the responsibility is, some attention is needed. Even Germany has understood the importance of the press to power. In a democracy which is preparing its own defense an intelligent press relationship for the services is not only a more important problem but a different one. And away from Washington it begins to look like one of the major bottlenecks in the defense program. It does not show its danger now. Uncritical patriotism is a policy of many newspapers. The army and navy may get away with stupid press relations for a long time, but they are preparing for trouble when they fail to recognize that the country demands from them the honest, intelligent, prompt provision of legitimate news on all its big posts and projects.

The press understands the necessity for secrecy about secret matters. It is time the army and the navy understood the necessity for prompt and full publicity about matters of legitimate public concern. The job of defense in America depends on letting the public in as much as on keeping the spies out.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Notes by the Way

THE drawings on this page are taken from "Mr. Smith and Mr. Schmidt," a picture book by Ben Martin (Vanguard Press, \$1.25) in which he reduces to very simple sentences and very funny line drawings that solemn text The Advantages of Living in a Democracy. Mr. Smith, says Mr. Martin, isn't particularly happy, because he has a lot of responsibilities, whereas Mr. Schmidt doesn't have to do any thinking—he only has to work, march, cheer, sing, burn books, do a little dying now and then, and pay homage to his peerless leader.

Physically They Are Much Alike

over a book about d-y vs. f-m.

Smith gets more to eat than Mr. Schmidt, has more fun, can write a letter to the *Times* and orate against the government. In spite of all this, he is unhappy because "if he were happy he couldn't be against the government and if he couldn't be against the government he wouldn't be happy." It's a relief to find oneself laughing

On the other hand, Mr.

I THINK it's interesting that three of the four literary quarterlies which come to my desk are published at universities in the South or on its edge-the only other important university quarterly that comes to mind is issued at Yale. The Virginia Quarterly is probably the one best known to Nation readers. Each issue contains several articles on current social or political problems, but its main emphasis is on literature and the humanities. The winter issue, which is the first to be published under the direction of its new editor, Archibald Bolling Shepperson, who replaced Lawrence Lee, features a discussion of The Dilemma of Democracy by Carl Becker. A supplement contains a fulllength play by D. H. Lawrence, hitherto unpublished. Its autumn issue led off with an excellent analysis of the Vatican in world politics by Lawrence Fernsworth and also included a delightful reminiscence of Norman Douglas by his son. For the rest there are stories, poems, and reviews of books. The Virginia Quarterly is well edited, well written,

The Southern Review, issued at Louisiana University, operates a good deal farther behind the journalistic lines, and I find it rather piquant not only that it comes out of Huey Long's bailiwick but that both contributors and subjects often veer to the left. The most recent issue contains a symposium on literature and the professors—the other five papers in the symposium are to be found in the autumn issue of the Kenyon Review; it also contains a discussion of What

Is Living and Dead in Marxism by Sidney Hook, an article on Trotsky as Scholastic by Max Eastman, a long short story, and a group of poems. It would be called "highbrow" I sup-

pose; yet because of its catholicity it has a quality of unexpectedness that is certainly one of the prime requisites of good journalism. Incidentally it is very attractively printed.

The Kenyon Review, published at Gambier, Ohio, under the imprint of Kenyon College, describes itself as the only quarterly devoted exclusively to arts and letters. The devotion is a little reminiscent of academic cloisters, but it has printed some extremely good articles and reviews. Its managing editor is Philip Blair Rice, who has written many excellent reviews for The Nation.



Mr. Schmidt's Peerles Leader

The Partisan Review, published in New York, is a bimonthly rather than a quarterly. And in other respects as well it is in a category by itself. Its point of view in both literature and politics is Marxist. Marxist literary criticism has hit some very low points in literalness and ignorance in the past decade, but the articles in the Partisan Review by such writers as Philip Rahv, Meyer Schapiro, and others demonstrate once more how fruitful and illuminating the Marxist approach to the arts can be in the hands of intelligent writers. The poems and stories printed in the Review are original and experimental. On the literary side there is the sense of a fresh wind blowing through; fewer windows are open on the political side, but though I find the literary manifestations of the Partisan Review's Marxist approach far more persuasive than the political, its occasional editorials on current issues have the merit of being well writtenusually by Dwight MacDonald, who is one of the few bright young men to have escaped alive from Time, Inc.

All of these magazines, as a Nation editor might say, "deserve support." But I have a general complaint—which

applies also, I admit, to The Nation's literary section. They fail, in varying degrees, to communicate a sense of the pleasures of literature, music, and art, which must surely be one reason why their editors edit literary mag-



Where Books Are Read, Not Burned

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azines. It is understandable that the Morleyization of the arts in this country, plus the vestigial Puritan in all of us, has driven us literary editors into acting as if culture were a solemn crusad. nstead of a continuous adventure of discovery and satisfaction, both intellectual and emotional. Last spring in Mexico I read a number of issues of Romance, a fortnightly magazine founded by a group of Spaniards and Mexicans. I suppose it might better be called a newspaper; its format is that of a tabloid. It takes all culture for its province-Watteau appears along with Orozco and articles about Goethe along with report of the newest Hollywood film-though it pays special attention to both new and established Latin American writers and artists. It is designed to be a "popular" magazine its circulation was said to be 15,000 then-though there is no vulgarization. It is quite different, in scope and purpose, from the magazines I have mentioned in this brief survey, but the feeling it conveys, of excitement and even gaiety about the arts as experience, need not be alien to more eclectic

I AM glad to report that I find the second issue of Common Ground, publication of the Common Council for Ameri-

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Mr. Smith Has Many Responsibilities

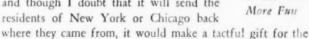
can Unity, much livelier than the first. Pictures have been introduced; and it contains some good reading, including The Anatomy of Prejudice by Henry A. Davison, an appealing autobiographical sketch by Younghill Kang which begins with the telescopic sentence, "I was born in Korea in 1903, when the minds of the people were greatly perplexed," and an article about William Saroyan by John Fante which is very entertaining, despite the fact that so many entertaining articles about Saroyan have already been written. Saroyan's idiosyn-

crasies make good copy, and Mr. Fante doesn't neglect them. He says, among other things, that it is almost impossible to find an unautographed copy of Saroyan. "Undoubtedly there are out of the way towns where this condition does not exist, but it must also be said that with the success of his plays Saroyan is richer now and able to traverse the hinterlands with the thoroughness of a politician seeking office. Time will come when collectors will be bidding for unautographed copies." But Mr. Fante makes it clear that Saroyan has never indulged his love of attention at the expense of his integrity. He tells the story of how Saroyan turned up once at the Crowell offices in New York with a story which the staff read, thought hilariously funny and wonderfully written. They decided, however, that it needed a slight change at the end. Saroyan refused, though he had to borrow money the next day to get back to California. Saroyan, says Fante, "would give his life for the cause of justice and fair play; it is a passion you sense in him. Undoubtedly he would prefer to make this supreme sacrifice in the presence of a lot of people but that's Saroyan." By the way, Saroyan's newest book, My Name Is Aram," was published last week by Harcourt, Brace (\$2.50).

IVAN GOLL is the author of the poem Chanson de France, which appeared some time ago in *The Nation*. "Jean Sans Terre" (John Landless) is the title and "hero" of a book by Mr. Goll of which three volumes have already appeared in France. Another selection from it was printed in the July-August issue of the *Partisan Review*. I suggest that readers who are interested get a copy of that number, not only for the poem but for an illuminating "Note"

on Jean Sans Terre" by Louise Bogan.

THE FARM SECURITY Administration maintains a photographic project and file documenting the living and working conditions of America's rural lower third. Some 142 of these photographs are presented in "Home Town," for which Sherwood Anderson has written the text (Face of America Series, Alliance Book Corporation, \$2.50). There are some excellent photographs by Walker Evans, Arthur Rothstein, Dorothea Lange, and many others; Mr. Anderson knows his small town and writes about it with feeling and intelligence. It is a frankly nostalgic book, and though I doubt that it will send the residents of New York or Chicago back



MISCELLANY: Speaking of the pleasures of literature, I don't see why more bells weren't rung about Edmund Wilson's "To the Finland Station." . . . The New York Public Library has at present in active circulation over 350 copies of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." . . . Havelock Ellis's monumental "Studies in the Psychology of Sex" may now be had in two volumes (Random House. \$7.50) From a folder suggesting *Time* magazine as a gift: "This Christmas your gift is the whole world of 1941." May I send it back with a rejection slip?

MARGARET MARSHALL

John Landless at the Final Port

BY IVAN GOLL

folks back home.

(Translated by William Carlos Williams)

John Landless in a keelless boat Having sailed many oceans without shore A dawnless day at a townless port Landed and knocked at a houseless door

He knows of old this woman without face Before a mirrorless wall who combs her hair This sheetless bed this fireless embrace This dastard love without despair

He knows these rusted galleys without oars These mastless bricks these steamless steamers These barless streets windows without women Sleepless nights docks haunted by no fears

And what of these men who battle With gestures of the old gladiator's art

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Arms without fists revolvers without slugs Pitiless eyes and pledges without heart

And why do these ships go on loading From dock to ship unloading from ship to dock? Why the voracious hunger of these cranes Which faithless seek high heaven to unlock?

These hides will never sole a shoe This cotton never clothe the naked This wood will never give off sparks This grain to holy bread be baked

What is this port at which none lands? Where this cape lacking a continent? Which is this merciless lighthouse? Who this traveler missing punishment?

The European Lesson

AMERICA NEXT. By Peter Markham. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$2.75.

NE of the townfolk in the scene Before the Gate in Goethe's "Faust" is telling his friend:

On Sundays, holidays there's naught I take delight in, Like gossiping on war and war's array, When down in Turkey, far away The foreign people are a-fighting.

Envisaging current events from the same viewpoint some journalists hope to transmute their beats and scoops into contemporary history by having them reprinted in octavo size. From this deluge of books on Europe not only monsters of ignorance but pearls of erudition, too, emerge. This book falls in the second category.

Mr. Markham, neither a journalist nor a scholar but a sharpsighted ex-officer and American business man, watched the mene tekel as it appeared on the walls of various countries with unerring judgment. He offers no sensational "news behind the news," only his thorough knowledge of the background from which all this horror arose. We learn why the feeble leaders of British Tory democracy, whose "lack of imagination was not only stupid but criminal," were unable to desert the time-worn "safe middle course." England, cleansed through fire, eventually "revealed to the wondering world the unconquerable strength of a united nation." A victim of its 200 families, France fared much worse. Geared to Sitzkrieg rather than Blitzkrieg, with capital and labor lining up at two extremities, its influential papers bought by Nazis and Fascists, "a house divided against itself," France underwent a collapse that shocked the world but that did not surprise Mr. Markham. When we learn that the Nazis with the assistance of big industrialists built a fiftybillion-mark war machine against Sir John Simon's "cheap war" it seems comprehensible that at Soissons the Germans moved up a thousand tanks and the French only two.

However, it is an overstatement that Hitler has spread communism with his sword. All Danubian countries, true, are more or less Nazi provinces and have a low standard of living. But pauperization is not communism, not yet.

Poland's tragedy the author explains by the forced unification of the Westernized upper crust and the Easternized masses, the ownership of 40 per cent of the land by 1 per cent of the population. This to a lesser extent is true of Hungary as well. Whether Hitler has fooled not only the democracies. not only his Axis partner, but, as Mr. Markham believes. Russia, too, remains to be seen.

Hitler has certainly learned that neither war nor safety can be won by balancing the budget or by limiting the national debt, but with oil and iron only. Europe's downfall. we are told, offers another lesson: that "some people feared the rise of the underprivileged or the loss of property which might result from war more than the Nazi domination." In case of a German victory America obviously must face Hitler's demand for food and raw material on bis terms, but there still are Americans who, in Mr. Markham's view. either underrate "the military strength and skill of the Germans" or else aspire to be an American Gauleiter.

Whether one agrees with Mr. Markham or not, his warning that this country badly needs planes and tanks instead of appropriations and blueprints must be taken seriously. "The challenge is now" and not when the two-ocean navy is

Mr. Markham dedicates his book to the American people. This, I presume, includes isolationists, appeasers, and even those who still call the President "that red in the White House." It is a book so honestly and so lucidly written that even they will understand it, provided their emotions do not RUSTEM VAMBERY bar the way to arguments.

Tract for the Times

CHRISTIANITY AND POWER POLITICS. By Reinhold Niebuhr. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

gifted wr

R. NIEBI R has long been known as one of the most s on the relation of Protestant Christianity to politics. His 1 est book is a tract for the times, a vigorous attack on the Pc gianism of the pacifist movement. The core of his argument | best stated in his own words.

The Weste a democracies are the spiritual children of the Renaissance r 'her than the Reformation. . . . For Roman Catholicism to an is a sinner, involved in self-love and incapable of doing good, but he is capable of loving God and his neighbor once sacramental grace has been infused. The Reformation rightly challenged this too simple view of sanctification. It recognized the continued possibility of sin in the life of the redeemed. . . . The Renaissance, on the other hand, saw human history as a realm of infinite potentialities, but forgot that it is a realm of evil as well as of good potentialities. In both its rationalism and its mysticism the Renaissance thought that it had found methods of extricating the universal man from the particular man, imbedded in the flux of nature. . . . As a consequence the tragic character of human history, in which man is perennially betrayed to use his freedom for destruction as well as construction, is not understood.

Pacifism, he points out, blasphemes by denying original sin and pretending that perfection can be acquired in a progressive school. "Christianity and Power Politics" is lucid, just, and, I believe, theologically unexceptionable, and yet it leaves me a little uneasy. As an orthodox theologian must,

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riginal a prolucid, l yet it must, the author scents the dangers of reacting from this romantic optimism of liberal Protestantism into the pessimistic dualism of Barth; but orthodoxy, the middle way, i as its spiritual dangers, too, and it is a sense of these that one misses here, the sense as Kierkegaard puts it, of always being out alone over seventy thousand fathoms.

A brother once came to one of the desert fithers saying, "My mind is intent on God." The old man replied: "It is no great matter that thy mind should be with God; but if thou didst see thyself less than any of His creatures, that were something." I am sure Dr. Niebuhr knows this: I am not sure, though, that he is sufficiently ashamed. The danger of being a professional exposer of the bogus is that, encountering it so often, one may come in time to cease to believe in the reality it counterfeits.

One has an uneasy suspicion that, were Dr. Niebuhr to meet the genuine, he might be as embarrassed as an eight-eenth-century bishop or as an army chaplain. The question is: Does he believe that the contemplative life is the highest and most exhausting of vocations, that the church is saved by the saints, or doesn't he?

Recent history is showing, I think, and Dr. Niebuhr suggests here and there that he would agree with me, that man cannot live without a sense of the Unconditional: if he does not consciously walk in fear of the Lord, then his unconscious sees to it that he has something else, airplanes or secret police, to walk in fear of.

W. H. AUDEN

Marx and the American Farmer

WHY FARMERS ARE POOR. By Anna Rochester. International Publishers. \$2.75.

MERICAN agriculture has been seriously depressed since 1920. Farm families, as Mis Rochester points out, constitute about one-fourth of our p lation but obtain only about 9 per cent of the total national acome. Although the situation is not as acute as it was at ti lepth of the depression in 1931-33, it has not change Miss Rochester attempts to portray in terms of Marxian economics the basic nature of the problem and its link to the general decay of capitalism. No other ook, so far as I am aware, has so thoroughly demonstrated the interdependence of agriculture and industry. The relative decline in agriculture's share in the reward for its product is attributed to the greatly superior opportunities for growth in industry, which, permitting a much more rapid accumulation of capital, have forced agriculture into the position of a debtor and weakened its bargaining power in marketing its product. Transportation, distribution, and financing costs have been maintained at artificially high levels by powerful interests.

Largely as a result of technical advance and the creditor-debtor situation just referred to, agriculture has undergone a marked transformation in recent years. The number of farms has declined; there has been a tendency toward larger units of production, greater specialization, and—particularly in the last decade—increased use of wage labor. There has also been larger use of farm equipment, but Miss Rochester insists that this is not the primary index of development toward completely capitalist farming. It is secondary to the increase

in wage labor on farms. Wage labor, she declares, is the decisive factor in the farmer's ability to accumulate wealth. "Value transferred from buildings, implements, livestock, and feed," she maintains, merely incorporates into the farmer's product "value which he had previously purchased or borrowed or which he has created by his own labor, or taken from wage workers in past years. The only new value created during the current year is that produced by the farmer and his family, plus the value created by wage workers."

This may seem a technical and somewhat abstruse point, but it is central in the author's analysis of the factors accounting for the increasing exploitation of farm workers and the increasing financial difficulties of the middle farmers. Agricultural statistics—of which this book is a mine—seem to bear out this point. Yet common sense tells us that the proper use of stored-up labor in the form of equipment, coupled with scientific technique, should yield higher profits than mere exploitation of labor.

Apart from this one somewhat dubious point, the book rests on secure foundations. Farmers are the outcasts of capitalism. As debtors, their interest charges are far in excess of those paid by business. They are at a disadvantage in marketing their products. High rents and land values levy a disproportionate toll on the return from farm products. All of this, Miss Rochester concludes, lines up the farmer on the side of those whose interests are opposed to a continuation of the capitalist system. But unfortunately only a very few thousand of our five million farmers are likely to read this formidable book.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

READ:

"HOW THE POPES TREATED THE JEWS"

by Dr. L. H. Lehmann

in the January issue of

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IN BRIEF

THE POETRY OF DOROTHY WORDSWORTH. Edited from the Journals by Hyman Eigerman. Columbia University Press. \$2.

Extracts from the Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth cut up and printed as though they were imagist poems—which they are not. The subtle rhythm of Dorothy Wordsworth's prose is thereby interrupted, the context is lost, and even in the midst of the extracted passages phrases essential to the meaning are omitted. The compilation has nevertheless been a labor of love, and it will have served some purpose if it sends more readers to the Journals.

NOR FIRE, NOR ICE. Poems by Lucy Atkinson McIlwaine, G. P. Putnam's

If ever one of Ellen Glasgow's unreconciled Virginia maiden ladies had, in her spare time, attempted to write poems the result would be very like this little volume, Miss McIllwaine died last year before the publication of the book.

BEHIND THE LINES, By A. A. Milne. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$1.75%

According to the dust cover, "here is the ever-lively, brilliant mind of one of the world's great masters of light verse playing thoughtfully upon the vexing problems of his time." According to this American reader here is the English gentleman at his silliest and most fatuous, and, what is worse, pretending to be even sillier and more fatuous than he is. I understand there is a censor in England, and while I have never yet recommended a book to a censor, I do suggest that in the interest of England he see that no more of Mr. Milne's work gets across the Atlantic until the war is over.

AMERICAN ENGLISH GRAMMAR. By Charles Carpenter Fries, D. Appleton-Century Company, \$2.50.

This report of an investigation financed by the National Council of Teachers of English on "The Grammatical Structure of Present-Day American English with Special Reference to Social Differences or Class Dialects" assumes that "usage or practice is the basis of all the correctness there can be in language." This is a point of view always held by sensible people but only just dawning on most teachers of English. The author of this admirable monograph not only recog-

nizes that there are many kinds of "correct" American English, but actually allows you to say, as anyone who talks naturally does say, things like "It is me" and "Who did you call?"

THE NEWS AND HOW TO UN-DERSTAND IT—In Spite of the Newspapers, in Spite of the Magazines, in Spite of the Radio. By Quincy Howe. Simon and Schuster. \$2.

Though satirical, Mr. Howe's admirably lucid guide is not so satirical as its title. For Mr. Howe really gives some very practical hints on how to get the most out of the purveyors and interpreters of news with the least margin of error. He seasons his advice with some delightful parodies of our major news agencies, columnists, and commentators. He finds his King Charles's head, of course, without much trouble between nearly every two lines he reads. But since the cause of Britain looms so large in the consciousness of us all just now, that is not hard for him to do.

THE ORIGIN OF PRINTING IN EUROPE. By Pierce Butler. The University of Chicago Press. \$1.50.

This book is labeled a "Study in Library Science" and is by the professor of bibliographical history in the University of Chicago, but any general reader interested in the history of culture will be doing himself a disservice if he passes it up unread. It not only explains technical matters which, though they underlie our whole civilization, are a closed book to most laymen, but gives a really remarkable interpretation of the social significance of the "invention" of printing. A "humane" achievement. It is appropriately illustrated with diagrams and facsimiles.

AND STILL THE WATERS RUN. By Angie Debo. Princeton University Press. \$4.

The story, never fully told before, of what happened to the "Five Civilized Tribes" of Oklahoma, who trusted in treaties with the United States government, is given here without sentiment or embellishment and with full documentation. The resulting book is both important and moving, but the difficulty of summarizing accurately the impression it makes is increased by Oliver La Farge's irrelevant statement that it is "a first-rate literary treatment of history." Literary is one thing it is not, thank heaven; but Miss Debo has done a first-rate job of investigation and reporting,

which is at the same time an implied, and pretty final, judgment of value from a historical point of view.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE REV-OLUTION IN MARYLAND. By Charles Albro Barker. Yale University Press. \$3.50.

One of the Yale Historical Publications written by an assistant professor at Stanford University. It traces thoroughly the social, economic, and political developments which provided a sample of what led up to the Revolution. Mr. Barker does full justice to the special flavor of Maryland while remaining objective. It is not for the casual reader, but specialists will find it highly readable.

GOLDEN GATE: THE STORY OF SAN FRANCISCO HARBOR. By Felix Riesenberg, Jr. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.50.

Mr. Riesenberg, who inherits a knowledge of ships and harbors and a racy way of writing about them, has a magnificent subject. He has produced a readable, vivid surface picture of the changing history of America's raciest port. One can enjoy it all and understand why San Francisco has always been such an interesting city. Some readers will be inclined to regret the fictional style which is frequently used in the narrative of events. The twenty-seven illustrations are splendid.

BRITAIN SPEAKS. By J. B. Priestley. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

Based upon the radio talks which Mr. Priestley has made to America through the British Broadcasting Company, this book reflects the day-to-day attitude of the British people. It tells what they are doing and thinking, and does so with considerable freedom of comment.

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THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERA-TION. An Interpretation of the Social-Constitutional History of the American Revolution, 1774-1781. By Merrill Jensen. University of Wisconsin Press. \$3.

The author's thesis—and this book is quite obviously a thesis though a model one—is that the Articles of Confederation "were not the result of either ignorance or inexperience. On the contrary, they were a natural outcome of the revolutionary movement within the American colonies"—as distinguished, that is, from the revolutionary movement against Great Britain. As such they did not find favor with the conservatives,

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Another "Nation" Scoop!

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The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY DECEMBER 23, 1940.

PROPOSED BY C. L.O.

Murray Will Offer Rocsevelt Plan Designed to Start Mass Production in Six Months

'UNUSED' CAPACITY CITED

UNUSEO* CAPACITY CITED

Union Reports Idle Presses,
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—Urges Air Board of Nins

—By LOUIS STARK
WASHINGTON, Dec. 83 — Philip
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Fifth Apenne Chun Labor's Plan: 500 Planes a Day

BY I. F. STONE

Descrit, December 15

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be fought here.

In this Detroit area, in this huge and sprawling conglomeration of factories for the automobile and its parts,
the American people possess the greatest productive
machine of its kind in the world. Labor here believes
that if this productive machine were utilized to the
that if this productive machine were utilized to the
study, it would be possible within six months to turn
out 500 planes a day without seriously interfering with
the production of automobiles.

By "labor" I mean first of all Walter P. Reuther,
director of the General Motors division of the C. I. O.
United Automobile Workers, who for the past three
months has been knocking on doors and hammering on
deaks in Detroit and Washington with this idea of his.
By "labor" I also mean the automobile workers' union

The NATION

inquiry uncovers here is that roughly a tune of the skilled mechanics in this area are out of work and most of the rest are working less than a full forty-hour week. There are more than 15,000 skilled mechanics in Detroit makers, pattern makers and designers. Estimates of the number either totally unemployed or working on production jobs that less skilled men could fall run from the skilled men skilled

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e Interna

N December 23 the metropolitan dailies headlined the C. I. O. or Reuther plan for large-scale airplane production. But on December 15—eight days earlier—The Nation's Washington editor, I. F. Stone, had filed the same story, and on December 19 The Nation appeared with the inside account of what Dorothy Thompson has called "the most important event of the last days." A weekly journal had "scooped" the daily press.

This is only one of The Nation's recent "scoops" from the capital. In rapid succession have come Mr. Stone's stories of the Navy Department's squeeze on Mexico through a high-bid award to Standard Oil; of the new Ford contract in which the six-time violator of the Wagner Act failed even to meet specifications; of the aviation industry's sitdown strike for higher profits.

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who evidently put over the idea that the adoption of a new constitution was the only alternative to chaos. The author proves his thesis—itself a natural, or at any rate academic, outcome of Professor Beard's theories about our Constitution.

ERONSON ALCOTT, TEACHER. By Dorothy McCuskey. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

Miss McCuskey confines herself completely to the educational activities of the great Amos Bronson Alcott: transcendental seer, inspiration to Emerson and Thoreau, apostle of culture, and father of Louisa May. In her anxiety to show Alcott's pioneering efforts in integrating education, making schoolrooms pleasant, and teaching children to think rather than memorize, the author has completely missed the man himself-surely one of the most amazing figures in American letters. Even granting the author her self-imposed limitation, a knowledge of the experiments in education now being performed by the Gestalt psychologists would have increased her understanding of much of Alcott's work. The book is an expanded doctoral thesis, and reads like one.

GEORGE ELIOT AND JOHN CHAP-MAN. With Chapman's Diaries. By Gordon S. Haight. Yale University Press. \$2.75.

Yes, it's true what they say about the Victorians. Come with Mr. Haight into this literary parlor of mid-Victorian London and find out. You will hear much talk about "culture" and "selfculture." You will meet John Chapman, publisher of the Westminster Review, and his earnest literary "helpmate," Miss Marion Evans. Chapman, the chief subject of the book, was as helplessly devoted to ladies as he was to less tangible beauties of "a higher plane." Homely Miss Evans, who edited the Westminster for a time, was not helpless at all and forged a very solid reputation for herself under the name of George Eliot. An informative, if rather academic, literary study.

THE GUILLOTINE AT WORK. By G. P. Maximoff. The Chicago Section of the Alexander Berkman Fund. \$3.50.

Reproducing official documents and letters from political exiles, Mr. Maximoff gives a bloody picture of terrorism in Soviet Russia. He differs, however, from most anti-Soviet writers in that his chief attack is directed at Lenin. It was Lenin, he says, who established the system of inquisitional violence which Stalin has merely continued. And behind Lenin, so runs Mr. Maximoff's thesis, the authority for this disregard for human life lies in the brutal determinism of Marxism itself.

RECORDS

THE only question about the new Columbia set of Beethoven's String Quartet Opus 131 (Set 429, \$5.50) is whether Columbia has done a good recording job with the Budapest Quartet's performance; and the answer is that it has—which makes this one of the great sets of this year and all years.

To this Columbia adds several other fine things. Most of the sacred and secular music of the twelfth to the seventeeth centuries recorded by Yves Tinayre (Set 431, \$4.50) I find very beautiful, and beautfully sung. Bach's Suite No. 3, which contains some enjoyable dance movements in addition to the superb melody that is known to most of us as the Air for G String, is excellently recorded by Weingartner with the Paris Conservatory Orchestra (Set 428, \$3.50). Guiomar Novaes has recorded sensitive, sparkling performances of some delightful eighteenth-century clavier pieces: Scarlatti's Sonatas Nos. 8 and 487 (Longo Edition), Couperin's "La tendre Nanette," Daquin's "L'hirondelle" (17229-D, \$.75). And Mahler's rather charming song, "Ich atmet' einen linden Duft," gains from Suzanne Sten's lovely voice and fine musical taste; but in his "Hans und Grete" the voice is mostly tremolo (17241-D, \$.75). Commette's record of Bach's Prelude and Fugue in E minor for organ has not yet arrived.

While Columbia has managed to do a good recording job with the Budapest Quartet its record (19003-D, \$.75) of Barbirolli's performance of Smetana's Overture to "The Bartered Bride" distorts the sound of the New York Philharmonic in the way the set of Brahms's Second Symphony did; and though the recording (Set 432, \$6.50) of Stokowski's performance of Tschaikovsky's "Pathétique" with the American Youth Orchestra doesn't have that fault it has others which make it one of the worst Columbia has turned out: the orchestral sound is strangely unbalanced, unsubstantial, and fragmentary, what with some of its components being either indistinct or completely inaudible. This result may in part represent Columbia's

inability to cope with Stokowski's eccentricities; for the performance itself is one of the worst of all the abominations he has perpetrated on defenseless pieces of music.

There is distortion of the orchestral sound also in the recording (70704-D. \$1) of Barlow's performances of Rossini's Overture to "The Barber of Seville" with the Columbia Broadcasting Symphony, which is in any case nothing one would choose while Toscanini's version was still to be had. Again, the sound of the Chicago Symphony is hollow and wooden in the otherwise excellent set (X-182, \$2.50) of Saint-Saëns's Cello Concerto No. 1 made by Piatigorsky. And some of the detail of Brahms's Rhapsodies Op. 79 Nos. 1 and 2 and Op. 119 No. 4 for piano (Set X-183, \$2.50), well played by Egon Petri, is lost through recording which has the weakness of treble that was noticeable in the set of Franck's Prelude, Chorale and Fugue. The Saint-Saëns music is facile; the Brahms is labored; and neither is anything I care much B. H. HAGGIN

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